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THE COMMON DESCENT GROUP IN CHINA
AND ITS FUNCTIONS

VIKING FUND
PUBLICATIONS IN ANTHROPOLOGY
Number Ten

THE COMMON DESCENT
GROUP IN CHINA AND
ITS FUNCTIONS

HSIEN CHIN HU



New York • 1948

RALPH LINTON

Editor

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14 East 71st Street
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

Printed in the United States of America

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

NO work of scholarship is the result of one person's efforts alone. My gratitude belongs first of all to the many generations of Chinese and Western scholars, who contributed to my education and thus equipped me for undertaking the present investigation.

To my teachers at Columbia University I am indebted for encouragement and guidance while I was working on this dissertation. To Professor Ralph Linton I owe thanks for good advice and for making possible the publication of the manuscript. Professor Ruth Benedict has placed me deeply in her debt by suggesting various changes and corrections in the manuscript.

My sincere thanks also go to Professor Hu Shih, my old teacher, who, while in New York, provided me with some very valuable information and gave me advice regarding the organization of the material. I am particularly grateful to him for allowing me to use in the appendix part of his father's autobiography.

To the directors of The Viking Fund I want to express my gratitude for the publication of this dissertation.

Some of the material on which this study is based I owe to the kindness of personal friends, particularly Mr. Thomas Ch'u Wei-ao. During the time I collected this material I received financial assistance from the Quain Fund, which is gratefully acknowledged.

The Library of Columbia University was very helpful and cooperative in making available to me the Chinese genealogies in their collections, which yielded the greater part of the information for this study.

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INTRODUCTION

WITHIN the structure of Chinese society the "common descent group" has occupied a prominent place for many centuries. In the literature on China it is usually labelled "clan." While it resembles clans in other societies to a considerable degree, its characteristic features are not found in the same combination among any other people. Hence the Chinese word *tsu* has been used throughout.

As its name implies, the common descent group traces its ancestry to one first ancestor, who settled in a given locality. The rites in his honor and those for later ancestors serve as a reminder of kinship bonds. However, only patrilineal descendants are recognized as "kin." Since girls marry out of their families and their descent group, their offspring are only "relatives-in-law" and can be admitted to membership only under special circumstances.

While, like the *chia*, or family, and the circle of mourning relatives, the *tsu* is organized on kinship ties, it differs from these two not only in its scope but also in its functions. The *chia*, which includes parents, children and grand-children with or without their immediate dependents, serves as an economic unit and for bringing up the young. The circle of mourning relatives, which comprises all those descended from one great-great-grandfather, does not own property in common, and is less permanent and less formal as an organization, though members belonging to the same circle are expected to take an interest in each other's welfare and are obliged to help each other in various ways. The *tsu* is a patrilineal clan, including all who are descended from the same distant ancestor. Generally these are concentrated in one village or neighborhood, but not infrequently they scatter over a much wider area. Compared to the *chia*, it is a much larger but less tightly-knit organization. The member families of the *tsu* own property in common, but this property is for religious, educational and relief purposes rather than a means of livelihood. More closely and formally organized than the circle of mourning relatives, the *tsu* possesses land and a school for common welfare, and an ancestral hall where sacrifices to the ancestors are offered, conferences regarding *tsu* affairs are held, and disputes among the *tsu* members are decided.

The families within one *tsu* bear the same surname, or *hsing*, but families of the same surname do not necessarily belong to the same *tsu*. The surnames in use in China today number hardly more than 470, while there are many more *tsu*. Take one of the most popular surnames, Li, for example. The different *tsu* by this name are of various origins. Some of them trace their ancestry to the imperial house of T'ang (618-905), others to courtiers and generals during that dynasty who had the name bestowed upon them as a mark of honor. Still others

are descended from groups by this name entirely unrelated to the T'ang dynasty. In short, until recently the *hsing* served only as an exogamic unit, while the *tsu* is a kinship organization. Only in one of the regions of greatest *tsu* development, in Kwangtung, do people usually regard persons of the same *hsing* as belonging to the same *tsu*.

We shall see that the *tsu* keeps a record of its descent lines by the compilation of genealogies. It is endowed with property by well-to-do members and uses the income to defray the expenses of the ancestral ritual, to assist young members to attain an education, to help out destitute members in old age or when orphaned, and to provide burial space for the dead. Where the *tsu* constitutes one community, community affairs are managed by its leaders. Furthermore, the *tsu* is interested in promoting the social standing of its members, as their prestige raises the reputation and influence of the group, and it is much concerned with straightening out differences between members and with keeping up the sense of moral values within the family and the *tsu*.

These features have allowed the *tsu* to develop considerable solidarity and have enabled it to compete successfully for prestige and power against similar groups in the same neighborhood. Because of the feeling of mutual responsibility and because of its ability to maintain high moral standards among its members, Chinese scholars have often extolled the advantages to society arising from a firm *tsu* organization, and the state has found it convenient to leave to it considerable judicial powers. We shall see that efforts to promote it grew out of the realization of its benefits in stabilizing society, for essentially the common descent group is an organization for self-government and self-help. •

Since the common descent group includes all of the families descended from the same distant ancestor, it comprises various social strata: the wealthy and prominent, as well as the poor and the lowly, for the fortunes of individual families vary. Since persons who move away retain an interest in their ancestral home, each *tsu* reaches far beyond the confines of a particular locality. But, although spread over a wider region it has its focus in one community which is always associated with the ancestral graves and the ancestral hall where the memory of the ancestors is venerated.

The *tsu* is of the greatest importance in rural neighborhoods, in large villages and small towns, although at times its main ancestral hall is located at the county seat or even in the provincial capital. But in the large cities, with their sharp differentiation of the professions and of social classes, it becomes lost. However, families that move away will retain their allegiance to the ancestral hall for many generations, the bonds of kinship being much closer than those of common residence. This loyalty to the home of the ancestors encourages the flow of money and wealth from the city to the country.

The movement of wealth is but an attendant phenomenon upon the migration of the surplus population from the country to the city and from there to

foreign parts. To be sure, regional solidarity plays its part in this population movement, but ties based upon kinship always have been regarded as more binding than those based upon proximity of origin. Particularly where the emigrant has to face considerable competition such ties confer a feeling of security and encourage venturesome spirits. Obligatory visits to the ancestral hall ensure the consciousness of their *tsu* affiliation among the offspring of emigrants, even after they have moved their residence to a distant city. This pattern of emigration is extremely significant for the expansion of the Chinese people. An example of its operation is given in Appendix 8, which shows how for centuries the surplus male population of the region of Hui-chou, Southern Anhui, has been drawn to the big cities along the coast and in the interior. It is not surprising that the two provinces of southeastern China in which *tsu* bonds are most strongly developed and elaborated, that is in Fukien and Kwangtung, have contributed by far the greatest proportion of Chinese emigrants abroad. How tenacious such *tsu* ties can be we see in Nora Waln's account of her adopted family in North China, which after thirty-five generations still maintained kinship ties to its *tsu* home in Kwangtung.¹

While the common descent group has played a significant part in the warp and weft of Chinese society, it did not play a role of the same importance in all parts of the country. As indicated above, Fukien and Kwangtung have developed their *tsu* organization very strongly, so that it reaches into Chinese emigrant communities abroad. As we shall see, the strong centripetal force here is conducive to considerable friction between *tsu*. The *tsu* are also strongly entrenched in the rice-growing regions of the Yangtze Valley. To the North Chinese, kinship affiliation is not as formal or close as it is to the native of Southeast and Central China. However, it is by no means absent. Genealogies and ancestral halls are maintained practically everywhere and the word of *tsu* elders commands a considerable amount of respect. The pattern of migration is somewhat different too: *tsu* ties do not count as heavily and the Chinese settlers in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia do not contribute to *tsu* finances in their original home.

The word *tsu* in its loosest connotation refers to the relationship group in general. Its organized form has undergone considerable change since the beginnings of history, but for reasons of space only a very brief sketch can be given.

As far as can be ascertained, the earliest form of the *tsu* in China was a relationship group bearing the same *hsing*, or surname, no doubt the sub-group of a tribe. As the tribal society developed into the state under the Shang (-1123 B.C.) and the Chou (1122-222 B.C.) dynasties, the ruling *tsu* of the tribes became the dynastic houses. The enfeudation of the ruler's relatives brought about a division of the ruling nobility: the enfeoffed, though belonging to the same *hsing* as the ruler, generally came to be designated by the names of the territories which were bestowed upon them. They formed their own relationship groups called the *shih*. Similarly the functionaries at court, belonging to the same *hsing*

as their princes, formed their own *shih*, which came to be designated after their office or profession. These *shih*, of course, were *tsu* of noble rank.

This early form of the *tsu* was distinguished by primogeniture, the eldest son of the eldest line descended from the founder inheriting titles and property, but also bearing the duties of ancestor veneration and of providing for the members of his group.

As Chinese feudalism decayed, men of common origin, but of special ability, gradually penetrated into the official hierarchy and established their *shih*. The trend continued until 221 B.C., when feudalism was abolished. Private ownership in land became institutionalized. The relationship groups of wealthy and prominent men formed *tsu* and played an important part in their respective regions.

During the chaotic period from 220 to 589 A.D., a result of civil wars and barbarian invasions, the powerful *tsu* each tried to consolidate their power in their respective regions for self-protection and political advancement. Aided by the system of selecting officials by recommendation, some of them achieved a position of political dominance similar to that of the Guise, for example, in medieval France. Since kinship affiliation was at a premium, genealogical records began to be kept, both by the state and by individual families. However, there is no indication that the local *tsu* had achieved any measure of the self-government and economic organization of the common descent group in recent centuries, nor is there any record of the common people keeping genealogies or organizing themselves into *tsu*.

When the T'ang emperors (618-905) instituted civil examinations for the selection of able officials, the privileges of the high-standing *tsu* were lost. However, the interest in genealogies was retained for a time, and the high functionaries endeavored, in competition with the old *tsu*, to pass on some of their prestige to their descendants. But aside from these high-ranking families, the relationship group did not show much cohesion, and interest in genealogies soon was lost.

It was not till the Sung dynasty (960-1276) that the developments took place that were to give to the common descent group its present form. Chu Hsi (1130-1200) standardized the ancestral ritual and, with many other scholars, emphasized the virtues that strengthen the solidarity of the family and ensure its continuity, and also pointed out the advantages and ethical beauty of *tsu* harmony. Fan Chung-yen's (989-1052) institution of *tsu* property had already shown the wisdom of such an arrangement for the welfare and strength of the group. The two writers, Ou-yang-Hsiu (1007-1072) and Su Shih (1036-1101) drew up the genealogies of their own families for the few generations that they remembered, and urged their contemporaries to do likewise so that records of relationship might be kept from generation to generation. Among the present-day genealogies

very few give in detail the ancestry of the *tsu* beyond the Sung dynasty, which is evidence of how completely the custom had been lost until revived in the Sung period. The idea of self-government and mutual reliance for the benefit of the group spread gradually not only among the well-to-do and prominent families but among the common people as well. From this time on the common descent group consolidated itself and bit by bit developed the features which characterize it today.

In this dissertation the organization of the *tsu* and its functions within the framework of Chinese society are described. The materials for this study are *tsu* genealogies and writings of the last six hundred years, supplemented by information from contemporaries, giving their observations and personal experiences.

The genealogies, which contain a great amount of interesting material on *tsu* interests and activities, are not very different from the published genealogy of the Goodrich family in America, for example, except in their greater elaborateness and in their exclusive recording of patrilineal lines of descent. They have always been considered valuable sources for historic research, but few modern scholars have made use of them for the study of Chinese society.² In former times it was not always easy to have access to these works, for, as we shall see, the *tsu* had good reasons for keeping them strictly private. In recent decades the leading libraries in China have collected a number of them, but it was only after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 that a good many Chinese genealogies appeared in the United States, notably in the Library of Congress and in Columbia University Library. The genealogies used are the most recent editions of the *tsu* in question, some dating from the 19th century, many from the first forty years of the 20th.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TSU

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

THE *tsu* makes use of its descent from a common ancestor to unite a large group of people. The consciousness of this affiliation is kept up by ancestral rites, kinship terminology, similarity in names, kinship behavior patterned on those in the *chia*, a genealogy, a certain common property, and common interest in the welfare and the prestige of the group. Based as it is on sentiments that govern relations within the family, it forms a more compact group than a village. Not only can it retain a greater hold on members who have moved away, but it also is able to enlarge its membership by joining with other groups of the same surname to which a relationship can be traced.

A family that has established itself far from the old home may develop into a new *tsu* (see for example Appendix 40). However, the social standing of the group improves with the increase in its membership and every means is employed to hold the allegiance of far-away members. Thus, the common descent group in China differs from clans in other societies in that it has no marked tendency to multiply itself continually.

In the last six or seven centuries the centers of the strongly developed *tsu* have lain in Central and Southeast China, that is, the Yangtze Valley, and the provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung. Here many villages are inhabited completely or predominantly by people of a single surname, recognizing a relationship among themselves. A few families of different surnames may be tolerated, but they are always regarded as strangers, even after generations of residence, and have no part in community affairs. In North China, however, villages composed of families of different surnames constitute the majority. The following statistics from two sample localities will give an idea of the differences between different sections of the country.

The *hsien* or county of Kao-an in Western Kiangsi is considered neither very wealthy nor very poor, and is composed of 1291 villages. The number of surnames occupying each of these villages is as follows:

	<i>Villages of a single surname</i>	<i>2 surnames</i>	<i>3 surnames</i>	<i>4 surnames</i>	<i>more</i>
Number of villages	1121	104	42	15	9
Percentage of whole	86.85%	8.05%	3.25%	1.16%	0.69% ¹

This shows very strikingly the preponderance of the village with only one surname. It is characteristic of the strong *tsu* feeling that the *tsu* of Ch'u in this county speaks of itself as inhabiting one community, while actually their village is listed in the local gazetteer as a two-surname-village. The two groups constitute two contiguous communities, completely ignoring each other socially (see Appendix 10).

The county of Ting-hsien in Hopei also is predominantly agricultural and occupies a similar economic status in North China as Kao-an does in Central China. Here, of 62 villages studied only one was inhabited by a single *tsu*, and in no locality does the *tsu* play an important part in the village administration.² But in agriculturally richer sections of North China, the *tsu* organization appears to be stronger.

The comparatively slight development of the *tsu* in North China does not mean that it is anywhere in abeyance. The feeling of relationship between families is retained by the extension of the kinship terminology, by a genealogy, and often by rites for the common ancestor. Even where no overt organization is present, the *tsu* tie exists as a potential factor that can be invoked in times of difficulties.

For example, M. C. Yang reports that in the village of Taitou in eastern Shantung, an economically backward area, the *tsu* lacked ancestral halls, but were held together by genealogies and mutual responsibilities. One of the *tsu* maintained a school, to which the others sent their children too.³

In the description, given below of strongly integrated *tsu* most examples are from Central and South China.

• THE RELATION OF THE *TSU* TO THE FAMILY

THE *CHIA* AND THE CIRCLE OF MOURNING RELATIVES

The *tsu* regards itself as having grown out of one single family, that of the founder, and relationship terms and approved patterns of behavior are derived from family organization. If any emotional appeal is made, it is in terms of obligations such as exist among near relatives. Since inter- and intra-family dissension endangers the solidarity of the *tsu*, the group is vitally interested in maintaining harmonious relations between members and discourages behavior that might break up its individual units. Hence it is necessary to describe briefly the constitution of the Chinese family or *chia*.

The structure of the *chia* being strictly patrilineal, all members are related to each other either through their fathers or through their husbands. Relatives by marriage are considered outsiders, although cordial relations with them are maintained.

The *chia* is the relationship group holding property in common and maintaining a common household. At times it consists of just the conjugal family, but it may embrace an extended family of three, more seldom of four or five genera-

tions with all their descendants. Parents wish to keep their sons and the conjugal families of these near them, and, if they endeavor during their best years to build up the family fortune sufficiently to maintain the growing household, they consider themselves entitled to support and care by their sons as these gradually take over the property. This attitude is heavily re-enforced by the emphasis placed on filial piety.

All the members of the *chia* are entitled to support from the common income. Members who find employment away from home contribute to its upkeep, and in times of necessity, receive substantial assistance from it. Their families are left with the parents, unless they are well enough off to maintain a separate household in the town or city where they are working. In every case contact with the old home is kept up.

The community of property and residence by the extended family assures the parents of a carefree old age and the respect of their offspring, and it also allows the grandchild generation to grow up in security. As all the goods for consumption are distributed equally, they receive the same material benefits and educational opportunities, taking into account of course the changing circumstances of the family but regardless of the ability of the individual parents and the size of the conjugal family. If one brother has ten children and the other two, all twelve yet share equally in the food, shelter, clothing and other benefits of the *chia*.

Under the circumstances the burden of providing for the *chia* falls on the ablest man in the second generation. He will bear it out of a sense of duty to the parents and because he knows that the strength of the *chia* resides in its solidarity, even though his own ambitions be thwarted and in spite of the innumerable personal conflicts that can arise in an extended family.

Ownership and management of immovable property is, on the whole, entirely in the hands of the male head of the family and inheritance is handed down in the male line, adequate dowries being provided for the daughters. The division of the family property is usually put off until after the death of the parents if the *chia* can possibly maintain itself as a unit economically. Occasionally brothers will remain together and only their children decide to separate.

A man's goal in building up a fortune and his social standing is to increase the prestige and prosperity of the family, this prosperity being measured in good part by the growth of the *chia*.

The status of women, too, is determined mainly by their role as mothers. The pride of any old couple is to see an ever-increasing circle of grandchildren and great-grandchildren grow up around them. To ensure the continuity of the family many individuals write out instructions on the conduct of its internal affairs to their descendants based on their personal experience. Their great fear is that their sons may not be thrifty or enterprising, and, depending on the achievements of the parents, cause the decline of the family, a fear we find reflected in many such writ-

ings (see App. 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9). We see from the examples given that the possession of sons is regarded as a reward from heaven for a virtuous life, an indication of the anxiety of a person lest his family die out.

The division of property marks a change in the relations of the members of the extended family, but there is no fundamental break. They continue to take an interest in each other's welfare, and feel a certain amount of responsibility for each other's conduct. This circle of relatives, larger than the family but smaller than the *tsu*, is commonly known as the "mourning relatives," because they bear the formal obligation of wearing certain types of mourning, graded according to nearness of kin, for each other. These relatives not only are obliged to attend each other's family rites: births, weddings and funerals, but also act as negotiators and arbitrators in disputes arising within and between the individual *chia*. At the division of property particularly, the elders in the circle of mourning relatives make decisions and witness the transaction.

From the point of view of the individual family, the *tsu* is more effective than the loosely organized circle of mourning relatives in guarding it against adversity, and thus assuring its continuity. Moreover, the eagerness of the *tsu* to provide opportunities for young members to acquire an education allows even persons with small means the hope that their descendants some day will be prosperous.

NAMES AND KINSHIP TERMS

A man often possesses more than one name, particularly if he belongs to the middle class. His formal name is entered in the genealogy of the *tsu* and is used in official documents. The elders in his family call him by his "small name"; teachers and schoolmates use his "school name," but most commonly he is addressed by an informal name or *hao*. Should he achieve distinction as a writer or artist he might choose a "brush-name."

Of all these the formal name alone unites the individual with his *chia* and his *tsu*. It is bestowed usually by the father, grandfather or great-grandfather. It always has an auspicious meaning and must not have been used in the *tsu* before. The characters cannot be arbitrarily chosen. If the name consists of two words, one of them will be shared by the whole generation. Occasionally the two sexes use different common denominators. This common element in the names of successive generations forms a definite sequence, taken from a poem or some famous piece of writing, and determined by one ancestor. When the words have been used up, a new line has to be chosen. To give an example: In the *tsu* of Hu in Hui-chou in South Anhui, the following words form the common element for successive generations: *t'ien*—"Heaven," *tê*—"virtue," *tz'ü*—"bestow," *chêng*—"auspicious," *hsiang*—also "auspicious," *hung*—"great," *ên*—"grace (of Heaven)," *yü*—"Bring up to" ("educate to become"), *shan*—"good," *liang*—also "good."

The common element in the given names may be restricted to one *chia* or to

the circle of mourning relatives. Often it runs through the entire *tsu* so that individuals from the same neighborhood bearing a common surname and having one part of their personal name alike are easily recognized as relatives. For example in the *tsu* of Tsêng in Hunan, which lives scattered in a number of localities, each generation is bound together by this common name element.⁴ The same is true of the descendants of Confucius who live in many groups in different parts of the country, but use the same common element in each generation.⁵

The extension of kinship terms to all the *tsu* members serves to keep alive the consciousness of relationship. Within the extended family, the conjugal family is set off by special terms for father, mother, son and daughter, but cousins are grouped together with brothers and sisters. Each generation is arranged in a numerical sequence according to sex, relative age and order of birth: "Big elder brother," "fourth younger sister," etc. The order of birth is marked also when addressing members of an ascending generation.⁶

The *tsu* uses the same kinship terms, always marking relative age and generation, but the order of birth is neglected. Members of the older generation are "father's elder brother," or "father's younger brother," those of ego's generation "elder brother" or "younger brother." Associated with these terms, of course, are the prescribed behavior patterns of the family, though they are applied in somewhat attenuated form. Particularly, respect for the older generation and old age is always insisted upon.

This terminology is strictly enforced in all well organized *tsu*, but when the *tsu* ties are lax irregularities may creep in, particularly on account of class feeling. Since the *tsu* includes all social strata, a wealthy landowner's son may have to call a laborer "grandfather," which is not always agreeable for a person conscious of his class privileges. So in *tsu* that are losing the sense of kinship, a social inferior will address a superior as "father's younger brother," even though he actually belongs to a younger generation. This cannot happen in a well organized *tsu* like that of Informant B, whose family employs as its most trusted servant a *tsu* relative of the older generation. This man is always respectfully addressed as "father's older brother."

THE COMPOSITION OF THE *TSU*

As stated, the *tsu* is a group descended from one ancestor who settled in a certain locality or neighborhood.

The *tsu* always consists of a number of lines of descent, usually called *fang*, or "house," descended from the sons of the common ancestor who first settled in the locality. The word *fang* again is derived from the patterns of the *chia*. Within the extended family the conjugal families each occupy a section of the home, or a separate building and thus are known as *fang*. These subdivisions of the *chia* are usually numbered "eldest *fang*," "second *fang*," etc., according to the order of birth of the brother who is its head. Similarly in many *tsu* the *fang* become known by ordinal numbers, but sometimes they take the names of individual ancestors.

When a *tsu* grows large and spreads out into villages in the neighborhood or in adjacent regions, the ancestral hall in the old home remains the focus of group interest and group activities. For example, the *tsu* of Chou was divided into five *fang*, of which the fifth remained in the parent village that held the ancestral hall and the ancestral graves.⁷

• With the years, some of the *fang* will grow in size and others will shrink and perhaps die out. Thus, in the *tsu* of Hu, in Hui-chou, only three lines survive out of six (see App. 13). In the *tsu* of informant B in Chekiang only two *fang* are left out of the original five, the others having become extinct (App. 3). The *tsu* of Fan in Soochow, descended from the noted scholar and statesman Fan Chung-yen originally was composed of sixteen branches, of which only nine survive.

As the branches of the *tsu* bear a certain responsibility with regard to the performance of ancestral rites and the common property, it is necessary that they be fairly evenly balanced. The development of the various subgroups being so unequal as to result in branches of disproportionate strength with regard to membership and financial ability, a reshuffling sometimes takes place after discussions among the whole group. To take the *tsu* of T'an as an example: The several lines of descent having become greatly differentiated not only in the number of members, but also in wealth, their heads were unable to fulfill the functions of manager of the common property. So the *tsu* was reconstituted by common consent, and the one *fang* which had developed far beyond all the others was subdivided into five *fên*, or "parts," while the rest formed two "parts" (App. 15). The *tsu* of Yü had spread out from its old home in Nan-ch'êng, Kiangsi, with branches in Hupei, Shensi, Fukien, Szechuan, Peiping, Honan, Nanking, Chekiang and Kiangsu, all tracing their descent from one ancestor in the T'ang Dynasty who in 880 A.D. first settled in Nan-ch'êng. It was divided into five *fang*, which were subdivided into 107 *chu*, or "columns." The latter were equally divided among the five *fang*, except that one *fang* had two more than the rest.⁸ This is an artificial regrouping of the *tsu*, so as to distribute evenly the rights and obligations in the group.

However, relations between the parent *tsu* and its offshoots are not always maintained intact over centuries. It often happens that families emigrate to a new locality and are forgotten, until at some later date the compiler of the *tsu* genealogy is able to trace them. When a family or *tsu* grows prosperous it may seek to ally itself with a *tsu* of high standing in another part of the country to improve its own prestige (see App. 20). It will then make efforts to establish a possible genealogical connection to the other group. When different local groups of the same surname can trace their genealogical affiliation to one common ancestor they will join together for rites to this ancestor and hold occasional conventions of representatives to discuss common problems. Such a coordination is known as *lien-tsung*—"to join in a *tsung*," and the joint genealogy is known as "*tsung* genealogy." The original meaning of *tsung* was identical with that of *tsu*, and to this day the ancestral hall of the *tsu* is known as *tsung-tz'ü*. While the use of the word *tsung*

in the expression above suggests that the localized *tsu* is felt to be different from the *tsu* aggregate, which may spread far and wide and is much looser in coordination, actually the word is rarely used by itself. The enlarged group still speaks of itself as a *tsu* with branches and sub-branches. The economic arrangements it institutes and the moral injunctions it draws up are similar to those in the smaller localized group, so that often there is no hard and fast line to be drawn between the two terms.

The *tsu* of Chu, which spread out over many counties in eastern Kiangsu, used its ancestral hall on Mount Huei as a meeting-place for the whole group at the annual ritual. Similarly the *tsu* aggregate by the surname of Chien in eastern Kwangtung have joined together, forming seven *lien* or "federations," which include 118 *fang*. Each of the latter constitutes a small local group. To the annual meeting for the ancestral ritual each "federation" sends its representatives to take charge of the ceremonies and the common funds.⁹

When branches of the *tsu* have settled in different parts of the country it is hard to convene representatives at certain intervals, but contact is maintained by means of the genealogy. This is the case, for example, of the *tsu* of Ma, descended from a Mohammedan general from Turkestan, which had first settled in Huai-ning, Anhui. Its genealogy records branches in Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Honan, Chekiang, Szechuan, Yunnan, and Kweichow,¹⁰ all of which regarded Huai-ning as the center from which the *tsu* spread out, since here the first ancestor made his home and since this place held the grave-yards of the early ancestors. Thus, the genealogy is the most effective instrument for furthering the expansion of the *tsu*, and for maintaining kinship relations among members of such a *tsu* aggregate who, residing in widely separated parts of the country, yet regard themselves as descended from one ancestor.

LEADERSHIP IN THE *TSU*

FUNCTIONARIES OF THE *TSU*

The *tsu* being a more tightly-knit community than a village, and commanding a wider membership, the functions of its leaders are more varied. The rites of aggregation, the ancestral ritual, have to be decided upon and organized. The disputes and disharmonies in individual *chia* have to be smoothed out. Regard for the traditional patterns of *li* and ethical attitudes has to be enforced, the education of the young to be attended to, and the common property of the *tsu* to be administered. If it inhabits a single village, civic responsibilities, like the building of roads and bridges, have to be attended to. Further, friendly relations with other groups have to be maintained, and in any difference with another *tsu* or village the interests of the group have to be represented. This is necessary also when the *tsu* has to deal with government authorities. If any member has difficulties with these authorities, the *tsu* leaders are expected to give him every possible assistance,

the group to a certain extent bearing a joint responsibility for the conduct of its members. Hence effective leadership can enhance the standing of the *tsu* in its neighborhood and improve its relations with the authorities, increase opportunities of its members for social advancement and afford some degree of security against destitution. In times of calamity it can organize the *tsu* for its own protection.

To take care of these manifold tasks certain functionaries are appointed. The position of highest authority is accorded to the head of the *tsu*, but the execution of the duties is largely in the hands of the heads of the *fang*. While these individuals are permanently entrusted with the affairs of the *tsu*, there is a group of men around them giving advice or restraining them on occasion, thus constituting an informal council.

The position of the head of the *tsu*, or *tsu-chang*, is analogous to that of the grandfather in the home. A man with grown sons may leave the direction of family affairs to them, yet he still will be consulted on important questions and at all times is shown deference. Particularly he can reprimand anyone in the *chia*, and the performance of the ancestral ritual is regularly in his hands. In the same way the head of the *tsu* commands the respect of the whole group. He has charge of the ceremonies in the ancestral hall of the *tsu*; he exercises supervision over the management of the *tsu* affairs; and is in a position to reprimand and, when necessary, to punish offenders against moral principles. Similarly, the heads of the *fang* more or less correspond to the several brothers in a *chia*, and share equally in the work for the group.

The head of the *fang* has functions similar to those of the head of the *tsu*, but only within his branch. He is responsible for arbitrating quarrels, maintaining ethical standards, and reporting changes in membership. Furthermore, when no separate manager has been appointed, the several heads of the *fang* are entrusted with the administration of the property owned by the *tsu*, and take part in the deliberation and execution of various communal projects, the head of the *tsu* exercising the right of supervision. The work may be shared, as in the *tsu* of Tsêng in Hunan (App. 11), or, more frequently, it is performed in rotation, each head of a *fang* taking over for one year, a system which allows them to check on each other's honesty and ability. This is a very common practice. For example, the *tsu* of Fan in Szechuan at first permitted the six sons of the founder to manage their ritual land in turn, but later a manager was appointed (App. 40). In the *tsu* of T'an in Kiangsi the affairs of the ancestral hall used to be managed in turn by representatives of the eighteen *fang*, so that the head of each *fang* was responsible for the common land once every eighteen years. The impracticability of such a long interval between terms of service led to the reorganization of this *tsu* into several "parts" (App. 14 and 15).

Usually the *fang* are regarded as having equal standing. But there are exceptions. In the *tsu* of Chou in Ch'ang-shu, which divided itself into five *fang*, the

fifth *fang* was the most important one, since it remained in the home village. This was considered the main line of descent. Each *fang* chose a head to lead its affairs, but among the five heads it was the leader of the fifth *fang* who acted as head of the group, regardless of his relative age.¹¹ In a *tsu* that lives scattered in many communities as the above, the head of the *fang* exerts the main influence on his group, and only very serious matters are brought to the attention of the head of the *tsu*. Hence the position of head of a *fang* can be of great importance.

INFORMAL LEADERSHIP

The group called *shên-shih* occupy a position of advantage in the *tsu*. The word *shên-shih* usually is translated as "gentry," but the original meaning is "men of education." To it belong all men who have received a formal education: in the old days all those who had obtained at least the first degree in the civil examinations, and, of course, all men who have held an official position. For the most part they are landowners, but the son of a farmer, who through hard work and the sacrifices of his family has obtained a schooling, is also counted among them.

The influence of the *shên-shih* derives from the prestige they give to the *tsu* through their standing in the outside world, but also for practical reasons. As mentioned above, *tsu* leaders often have to deal with other groups or with the government in matters affecting their communal life. Men with a formal education have established relations with outsiders of their own class, persons who wield an influence in their own *tsu* or community. Most important of all, they are in a position to speak on more or less equal terms with the local administrators, whereas an illiterate farmer cannot do so. An official sent by the central government has to take into account, for his own benefit, potential candidates for government offices who might at some time become his colleagues or even superiors, not to speak of those who have held positions of higher rank in the administration and hence command social connections in circles which the local administrator is hoping to reach. Thus he will be more approachable to the gentry than to a man who is respected in his own group but has not much standing outside. We see in App. 10 that the farmers who fought their enemies expected the gentry of the *tsu* to represent their interests before the local administrator, even though these men had advised them against the fight beforehand. We see from App. 13 that the men of education always represent their *tsu* in negotiations with other *tsu*.

Familiarity with literary Chinese and the standard literature of many centuries confers many advantages on the *shên-shih*. In communicating with outsiders, either members of another *tsu* or the local authorities, they are able to conduct the correspondence in the proper style. They read the laws promulgated by the government and all decrees that affect the life of the *tsu*. Also their familiarity with the classics gives them authority to speak on moral questions and thus to interpret the traditional pattern in any particular situation. Sometimes an individual will go around,

mediate disputes and preach a virtuous life, particularly reminding the young to serve their parents and to maintain harmony among themselves (App. 10). The moral influence wielded by the *shên-shih* in the *tsu* and the community can be considerable. Dr. Hu Shih relates in his autobiography that whenever the news spread that his father was coming home, all gambling and opium dens within a radius of twenty *li* (or seven miles) closed down temporarily to escape his scathing criticism.¹² Ts'ai Shih-yüan, a scholar of an earlier period, wrote in his instructions to his sons: "While I was home, I was able for twenty years to stop gambling among our own *tsu* and the three hundred families in the neighborhood, so that now it has already become a custom (to refrain from gambling). You may not be able to do the same, but within our *tsu* you should, together with the heads of the *fang*, stress the rule. As to the neighbors, you ought to join with the elders and the head of the village in suppressing gambling. In this way, my former precepts will be followed as a matter of course."¹³

Because of their familiarity with the classical literature the *shên-shih* have a deciding voice in matters of ritual, the more so as the ancestral rites include the writing and reading of addresses to the dead. While it is rare for any *tsu* to allow only the gentry to attend the ancestral ritual, as in the *tsu* of T'an in Kiangsi (App. 20), it is quite common to leave its performance to those who owe their social standing to their learning and official position, as, for example, in the *tsu* of Ch'u (App. 10). Furthermore, such matters as the keeping of the register of births and deaths, the compilation of the *tsu* genealogy, and accounts and correspondence concerning the common property also have to be left in the hands of the men of education.

For these various reasons the *shên-shih* are listened to with respect at all *tsu* debates and influence the decisions. Their number and standing has a bearing on the prestige of their *tsu* and determine its strength vis-à-vis its neighbors.

In general, it may be said that the power which the *shên-shih* wield is derived from the advantageous position they enjoy by virtue of their education. However, this should not be taken to mean that education automatically confers on a man a place among the *shên-shih*, or that the degree of education and social standing entirely determines his rank among them. Actually the emphasis placed on these criteria varies with the region and the *tsu*. Where education is much valued and many members have held public offices, these are important requirements. In other groups strength of personality and ability to run the affairs of the *tsu* are the decisive factors, and a man with a good education, but little ability or persuasive power, will have little to say.

The Confucian scholar has traditionally shown a dislike for the profession of trade, which he does not regard as an honorable means of making a livelihood. Hence, in some parts of the country the merchant as such was excluded from this group (see App. 10 for example), nor was he easily admitted to positions in the

administration. However, many an individual without a formal education was yet able to make a fortune in business, and, using his money to increase the landed holdings of his *chia*, become a landowner at the same time. His younger brothers and sons would be encouraged to study, and marital alliances with the best *shên-shih* families put him on a par with the *shên-shih* of highest standing. This was the case with the family of Informant T after his great-grandfather had built up a successful business. During the last dynasty, some public offices could be obtained by contributions to the Treasury, allowing the *chia* of a merchant to move up automatically into the ranks of the *shên-shih*. In recent times discrimination has diminished, and well-to-do merchants nearly always belong to this group of informal leaders.

The following account of the efforts of a man of our own times in promoting the prestige of his *tsu* is illuminating. The *tsu* of Ch'ien is descended from the King of Wu-yüeh, named Ch'ien Liu, who, in the troubles of the Five Dynasties, made himself master of present-day Chekiang and Kiangsu, his title being accorded him in 907.¹⁴ Though this *tsu* counts members in many parts of the country it is strongest in parts of Chekiang, as in Li-yang, where sixty square *li* are occupied exclusively by this *tsu* and its forty-six ancestral halls.¹⁵ Ch'ien Wên-hsüan, a thirty-second generation descendant of the founder, received his higher education in Great Britain during the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty, later worked in the salt administration of the Republic, and on several occasions represented China at international conferences in the United States and Great Britain. He was a native of Anhui, but spent most of his life in Chekiang, taking the liveliest interest in the maintenance of those places where his ancestors were honored. When the common property attached to the ancestral halls of the *tsu* was on the point of being lost he restored it. He instigated repairs of temples erected to the first ancestor as the benefactor of the region, as these were being neglected.¹⁶ He made a survey of all localities that were in some way connected with the achievements of the first ancestor¹⁷ and compiled his biography.¹⁸ Further, he petitioned the government to forgive taxes on the common property. This had been the rule under the imperial regime, but the republic knew of no such practice. Yet after repeated negotiations Ch'ien Wên-hsüan achieved his aim.¹⁹ When the Shanghai-Hangchou Railroad tried to acquire land near the ancestral burial-ground of the *tsu* for enlarging its repair workshops, he opposed it vigorously, claiming that the significance of the founder entitled the place to be regarded as a historical monument. He was again successful, and the railway had to give up its plan.²⁰ When in 1931 troops of the National Government used the ancestral hall of the *tsu* in Hangchou as living quarters, he, together with its trustees, petitioned Chiang Kai-shek to order the place evacuated, since the troops obstructed the ancestral rites of the *tsu*. This request, too, was granted.²¹ For the reference of future generations, all the correspondence concerning the common property is published in the complete works of

Ch'ien Wên-hsüan. This is a good example of a man belonging to the informal leadership in his *tsu* who, motivated by his firm belief that the strengthening of the *tsu* is basic to the healthy development of Chinese society,²² used all his ability and his social and political connections to further the inner cohesion and material welfare of his *tsu*, at the same time raising its prestige in society and defending its rights.

How a strong personality among the *shên-shih* emerges into a position of leadership is shown in App. 53. In the conflict the young man who was responsible for building up the ancestral hall pits himself against the sons of the man who occupied the highest position among the *shên-shih*. Although he has tradition on his side, the functionaries do not intervene and he wins only by the threat of bloodshed: offering himself to be killed by his opponent in the ancestral hall. This example shows that while wealth and social standing determine to a large extent the influence a man wields in his *tsu*, it is by no means impossible for a man of strong personality to gain the ascendancy with only a limited amount of these two assets.

Because of their importance to the *tsu* the *shên-shih* are set apart socially by various privileges, particularly in those groups which are very prosperous and possess many members of high social standing. For example, the banquet following the ancestral rites in the *tsu* of Yü in Kiangsi is attended by all men past seventy years of age, as well as by all those who had made an attempt at the first examination. Ostensibly this was meant as an encouragement to further diligence, in reality it meant that young people who had no time to devote to studying were excluded from the banquet.²³ Similarly in the *tsu* of Ning in P'êng-lai, Shantung, the very poor do not attend the semi-annual rites for the ancestors and the ensuing feast, nor do they have charge of the ritual land. The only privilege they have as *tsu* members is the use of the common grave-yard.²⁴ It is an old-standing custom that the sacrificial meat be distributed after the banquet and be taken to the individual families. In many *tsu* money is handed out instead, always calculated in terms of the meat a person is entitled to. In the *tsu* of T'an the amount for a commoner was one catty of meat, and that of the person with a formal education was graded according to the rank attained in the civil examinations. Here again the very old on the lower level of society shared with the gentry the honor of participating at the banquet and also with regard to meat money. In this *tsu* the functionaries at the ancestral ritual were selected according to their rank in the official hierarchy and received correspondingly more meat-money. It will be remarked that their ancestral hall accepted free of charge only the tablets of members who held rank as officials or through passing the civil examinations, while all others had to pay fifty Chinese ounces of silver. This was a considerable sum in the last century and, hence, probably only landowners and merchants with means could attain this privilege (App. 16). The *tsu* of Chao in Wusih specifies that, of the ordinary

people in the *tsu*, only men who distinguished themselves by their virtues are to have their tablets admitted to the ancestral hall, while those of educated members are to be admitted unreservedly (App. 48). This is an arrangement often met with. In the ancestral hall of the *tsu* of Yang in Wusih the central room is reserved for the founder and the first ancestors of the several *fang*. The two rooms on each side are occupied by the tablets of those who achieved the highest degrees in the civil examinations, those who had an honorary rank conferred on them because of the merit of their sons, or who enjoyed privileges because of the merit of their fathers, and those who held a military rank. In the last room to the west are installed the tablets of all those who achieved fame as filial sons and good brothers. Only one of the smaller side buildings is reserved for those who die in old age without dishonoring themselves.²⁵ On the other hand, in the *tsu* of Ch'u which includes neither very high officials nor very poor peasants, all tablets enter the ancestral hall without payment (App. 10).

Thus, we may say that there is a tendency to greater class differentiation, when a *tsu* can boast of members who have held or are holding prominent official positions, even though the *tsu* as a whole gains in prestige and the leaders enjoy the attention of the local administrator.

CRITERIA DETERMINING THE CHOICE OF FUNCTIONARIES

The question as to who has a right to act as head of the *tsu* cannot be answered in a few words, because patterns, attitudes, and ideas developing on several different social levels come into play. In many cases the head of the *tsu* is the oldest man of the oldest living generation (App. 10 and 13). The *tsu* of Fan in Wusih specifies that he must be a member of the oldest generation, without insisting on the age criterion (App. 12). This principle of seniority in generation is widely accepted. The system of according the highest authority to the oldest generation is, of course, derived from the organization of the *chia*.

It can be readily seen that the oldest man of the oldest generation is not the first-born, but usually belongs to the latest born in his generation. Some of the practical difficulties of operating on this basis are seen in an account of the *tsu* of Huang in I-hsü, Fukien. Here the head of the *tsu*, who must be the oldest of the oldest generation, often happens to be a boy of only seven or eight years of age. So the oldest man in the whole group is appointed to assist him in his duties.²⁶

Another implication inherent in this principle is the fact that frequently it promotes a member of a poor family into a leading position. While the better-off *chia* endeavor to provide mates for their children as early as possible, in a very poor family marriages are apt to take place late in life, so that here the generations follow at a greater interval than in well-to-do ones. Thus children of the *chia* of high social status will often have to call many of their playmates from poor families "uncles" or "grandfathers." For the same reason, the principle of seniority of gen-

eration would automatically give the headship of the *tsu* to the descendant of a line of no social and economic importance.

In some *tsu* the eldest son of the line of the first-born son of the founder receives a privileged position as head of the *tsu*, or as leader of the ancestral ritual. This goes back to the system of primogeniture in Chou dynasty China (1122-222 B.C.), when the lines of descent in noble families were divided into "big *tsung*," consisting of the eldest line and performing the ancestral ritual for many ascending generations, and "small *tsung*," descended from the younger sons, which venerated only four generations of ancestors. The eldest son of the eldest line in a *tsu* was known as the *tsung-tzŭ* and exercised control over the combined property and income of the group. The *tsung-tzŭ* alone possessed the right of ownership to all *tsu* property, but also bore the obligation to care for his entire group. "They (i.e., the members of the *tsu*) lived separately, but owned property in common. When one had a surplus he gave it (to the *tsung-tzŭ*); if somebody was in want, the *tsung-tzŭ* assisted him."²⁷

In the Sung dynasty, when interest in the *tsu* organization and in ancestral rites was revived, scholars like Ch'êng I (1033-1107) and Chu Hsi resuscitated this system of primogeniture out of the classics and applied it to the *chia* and the *tsu*. They aimed at elevating the status of the eldest son in the family and that of the eldest line in the *tsu*, hoping they would serve as a rallying point for the loyalties of the group. Ch'êng I compares the authority of the *tsung-tzŭ* to that of the absolute ruler: "If the system of *tsung-tzŭ* is absent, the court will have no ministers from old official families. When the *tsung-tzŭ* is set up men know how to respect their origin. In ancient times sons and younger brothers obeyed their fathers and elder brothers. Today fathers and elder brothers obey their sons and younger brothers. The reason that man follows without murmur is that the status of high and low is well defined."²⁸ However, the special position of the eldest in the *chia* had long been lost, sons sharing equally both in the inheritance and in the duty of maintaining the parents. Primogeniture had disappeared, except that the eldest brother was accorded the leading role in the ancient rites.

The arguments in favor of the leadership of the eldest son have been severely criticized by the historian Mao Ch'i-ling (1623-1716). In speaking of the right of such a person to perform the ritual within the family, he advanced eight reasons why such an obsolete system should have no place in the society of his day. The last and weightiest of these: The *tsung-tzŭ* of a family usually is a young man and in performing the ritual for the four generations of ancestors in the family group he would be assisted not only by members of his own generation, but by members of his father's, grandfather's and great-grandfather's generation. While he is honoring four generations of his own ancestors, they would be honoring their brother, nephew and grandnephew, which is not right, since only members of the older generations are honored at the ancestral ritual. The author asks: Not being

a ruler, how can a *tsung-tzũ* lead all the members of the extended family in the ritual?²⁹ The same holds true for the *tsu*, and the efforts of ascribing leadership to one person in a particular line have had only a very limited response, since they run counter to the patterns of social organization.

Very few *tsu* recognized the privileged position of the eldest line. One of these rare examples is given in App. 17. Here both the *tsung-tzũ* and the head of the *tsu* were assigned leadership roles. The administration of *tsu* affairs was left in the hands of the *tsung-tzũ*, while the head of the *tsu* administers justice and leads the ritual. As inherited rank does not necessarily fit a man to be an able administrator, particularly when the social patterns do not stress hereditary status, the head of the *tsu* is expected to assist the *tsung-tzũ* when help is called for, while the latter may interfere when the former is too severe with violators of the ethical code. The head of the *tsu* was required to be a member of the oldest generation living, and had to possess official rank and ability. Thus two types of leaders supplement each other: one who acquires rank through seniority of descent, and one who achieves social standing by advancement in the official world, and who through ability has gained prestige.

We have seen in the discussion of the *shên-shih* that social standing in terms of official rank, scholarship and wealth are important qualifications for membership in that group. This is true also of the head of the *tsu*. Wang Shih-chin (17th century), in giving advice on how to maintain harmony within the *tsu*, stresses the need of fostering: (a) respect for individuals belonging to older generations; (b) respect, regardless of their generation-status, for old persons who have to be protected and shown the deference due to old age; (c) respect for the "wise," for these are the support of the *tsu* and must be "looked up to." Their example should be followed and the members of the *tsu* should honor them, forgetting about their generation and age. The same writer condemns the habits of some people of his time who are either proud of their wealth, or who, by clever manipulation, try to circumvent the dictates of morals, or by violence bully the weak.³⁰

This is a good statement of the ideal criteria for leadership within a *tsu*. The first two make for harmony and order in a group which desires stability and permanence, and allow the individual the expectation of an automatic increase in respectability and authority with the passing years. The "wise" are the men of both good social standing and education. It has been shown above that in the choice of the head of the *tsu* the principle of seniority in age and generation, like the privileged position of the eldest line, is contrary to the patterns of the wider society, which bases prestige on achievement in terms of wealth, scholarship and official rank.

We see from the last sentence in the argument that the author is well aware of the danger to the cohesion of the group that arises out of a one-sided emphasis on social standing, for this might give a few men a chance to exploit their position

at the expense of their group. Hence the emphasis on moral qualifications. This is also exemplified by the *tsu* of Tsêng in Hunan which elects two heads for a term of three years on the basis of ability and firmness of purpose in maintaining ethical rules (App. 11). The *tsu* of Hu in T'ung-ch'êng, Anhui, specifies that a man should be chosen for its head because of his honesty and justice and his reputation for virtue.³¹ Neither wealth nor seniority is mentioned. But it does not seem likely that this large and prosperous *tsu* would ignore social standing, and the qualifications given above probably imply the criteria for official rank and scholarship.

There are, in fact, three criteria which determine the choice of the head of the *tsu*. Seniority of age and generation cannot be ignored entirely, for this principle grows out of the kinship patterns. From the discussion of the *shên-shih* it is apparent that social standing lends weight to a person's influence in his *tsu*. Integrity of character also is important so as to assure the *tsu* that its leader will not abuse his powers. Usually a man of the oldest generation living, who also enjoys high prestige inside and outside the *tsu*, both for his accomplishments and his moral character, is recognized as chief functionary. Or, the head of the *tsu* may be accorded only a nominal role, the affairs of the *tsu* being decided by persons of high social standing who enjoy the confidence of their group³² (see App. 13).

That these criteria are not applied to the same extent in *tsu* on all social levels is shown in App. 17. The author asserts that the principle of seniority in generation and age is general in the *tsu* where the families are on a more or less equal economic and social footing, but he does not think it applicable in *tsu* who count among their members men who have risen high in the official hierarchy. This expresses the feeling of the *shên-shih* as a class that leadership in the *tsu* belongs to them. In App. 10 we have an interesting case of the head of the *tsu* being supplanted in the performance of the ancestral ritual by the gentry. With the heads of the *fang*, he is relegated to a back room after they have brought the ancestral tablets into the main hall, while a selected group among the *shên-shih* makes the offerings.

The material on hand thus indicates that the poorer the *tsu*, the less social differentiation. Under such circumstances age and generation are the proper determinants for the choice of a head. But as certain members acquire wealth and high social standing, social rank is more and more emphasized, and has to be taken into account in the selection of functionaries.

The criteria for the choice of the head of the *fang* follow no more a uniform pattern than do those for the head of the *tsu*. In the *tsu* of Ch'u in Kiangsi the head of the *fang* is the oldest of the oldest generation in his line of descent (App. 10), but in the *tsu* of Tsêng in Hunan he is elected on the basis of wealth and moral character (App. 11), which is also true of the *tsu* of Ch'in in Hupei.³³ The *tsu* of Yang, also in Hupei, specifies that both the head of the *tsu* and the head of a *fang* must be of just and upright character. "When a man is just he arbitrates without favoring either side. When he is upright his words in resolving a quarrel

are not ambiguous. So disputes die down by themselves." At the same time the property of the *tsu* is administered by one to three men chosen by each line of descent. They must be honest and hard-working individuals, so that no funds may be embezzled and the work be taken care of properly.³⁴ In the *tsu* of Hu in T'ung-ch'êng, Anhui, the lines of descent are divided into *ku*, or branches, and these further into *fang*. The head of the *tsu* should be an honest man, known for his virtue. The heads of the *ku* should be wealthy, capable and resourceful, so that the property be administered efficiently. The heads of the *fang* should be considerate in behavior and economical. The affairs of the *tsu* are to be planned and decided by the heads of the *tsu* and *ku*, the heads of the *fang* assisting the latter. The members of the *tsu* are enjoined to accept the decisions of these leaders without hindering them with criticism. If the head of the *tsu* or head of a *ku* proves incapable, another "wise" person is to be chosen in his stead.³⁵

As in the case of the head of the *tsu*, seniority in generation and age may be regarded as qualifications, but most often the head of a *fang* is selected from an older generation on the basis of ability in attaining social rank and in winning the respect of the community. Wealth is a frequent requirement, the reason given being that a wealthy man is more honest in the administration of the common property. For example, the *tsu* of T'an in Kiangsi, which makes sharp distinctions between different social classes, found the system of administration by rotation by the heads of the *fang* impractical, because so often the head of the *fang* was too poor (App. 14 and 16).

ANCESTOR VENERATION

As the ancestors are the main symbol by which the solidarity of the *tsu* is maintained, the rites of ancestor veneration are the means for reminding the members of their affiliations with the group. The attitude towards ancestors naturally is derived from that fostered in the family, hence the role played by ancestor veneration in the smaller unit has to be considered first.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ANCESTOR VENERATION

The respect accorded the dead ancestors is akin to the deference shown to the living parents. It is supposed that the souls of the dead derive comfort from the rites rendered to them by their descendants, while hungry ghosts, that is those without offspring, or those forgotten by their descendants, are much to be pitied. Therefore it is the intense desire of every individual to have offspring who will maintain him or her in old age, and will remember him or her with the proper rites after death. The Chinese emphasize the obligation of descendants, always in the male line, to carry on the rites. As it is stated in one genealogy: "As to the ancestors, they are those from whom my body has sprung. I received my limbs and trunk from them as an inheritance; I obtained from them the protection of 'dress and cap.' When the ancestors have a vocation we inherit their vocation."¹ (The "protection of dress and cap" refers to the system of appointing the sons of meritorious officials to administrative positions without subjecting them to the rigors of the civil examinations.) So deeply ingrained is the consciousness that ancestors should be remembered that many Chinese Christians feel most unhappy about the rule of the Protestant Churches against taking part in family rites. To their mind the worship of one God does not preclude the veneration of several generations of ancestors. The Catholic Church in China, realizing this, does not demand that her adherents abstain from the ritual.

So important is it to have somebody perform the ancestral rites after one's death, that a person without sons is spoken of as "ended," a very unhappy condition. A brother may perform the rites for a deceased elder brother, but his descendants would be sure to neglect them altogether, or, at best, relegate the tablet of the uncle to a secondary position. We see from App. 5 to 9 how the fear of being discontinued has given rise to the religious belief that Heaven thus punishes moral offenders.

Hence, it is usual to adopt a son who is to perform the rites, not only for his foster parents, but also for their ancestors. Such an heir is called *chi-tzū*. The right of inheritance is closely associated with the duty of performing the mourning and

funeral rites and later the rites of ancestor veneration. Near relatives are practically under obligation to provide a son for adoption. If they cannot do so, one looks for a suitable person, always in the son-generation, among the mourning relatives, or even further, among *tsu* relatives. A child is rarely adopted from outside the relationship group. However, no family will relinquish a son to a person without property. A daughter's husband may be adopted into the family, to all intents and purposes becoming a member of it, and the inheritance then passes into the hands of the daughter's sons. But only poor men seeking an easy life will give up the loyalty to their own family in order to join that of their wife. So the necessity of having at least one adopted son or daughter's husband acts as a strong motive for improving one's economic circumstances.

As the right of inheritance is associated with the duty of performing the ritual to the ancestors, the latter forms the subject of innumerable disputes and lawsuits, particularly when the property of a wealthy or high-standing person is involved. Such quarrels are settled by mediation of the elders in the circle of mourning relatives, or, if they fail, by the leaders of the *tsu*. Only in the last instance are they taken to court. (For examples, see App. 1.)

rites within the family

Wealthy families may possess an ancestral hall of three rooms. Less well-to-do people set a room aside or use the central hall of the home for the rites.

Within the home, the rites of ancestor veneration are performed once a year, usually around New Year, for four generations of ancestors, that is, from the father to the great-great-grandfather. Since, theoretically at least, all the descendants should take part, these rites really join together the circle of mourning relatives. This is the prescribed custom, but in actual practice some families keep the tablets of many more generations, particularly if they belong to a *tsu* whose ancestral hall is at a considerable distance. This happens, for example, when individuals move away to the city and lose touch with the old home.

When brothers separate after the death of their parents, they may continue to perform the rites together or they may each perform them individually. Each ancestor is represented by a tablet, called *shên-chu*—"spirit-seat," or *mu-chu*—"wooden seat," on which is written the name of the recipient of the rites, his title, birth and death dates, as well as the name of the individual performing the rites. A tablet consists of a rectangular piece of wood set in a base and covered with a case, which is removed during the ceremony. Usually a friend well versed in calligraphy is asked to write the name of the ancestor on the tablet. The spirit of the dead is supposed to adhere to the tablet for the duration of the rites. Portraits are used by some families, but they are of far less significance than the tablets, as the spirit does not adhere to them.

People with little means may not even own tablets representing each ancestor,

惠山祠堂圖

惠山祠堂圖

黃公明筆

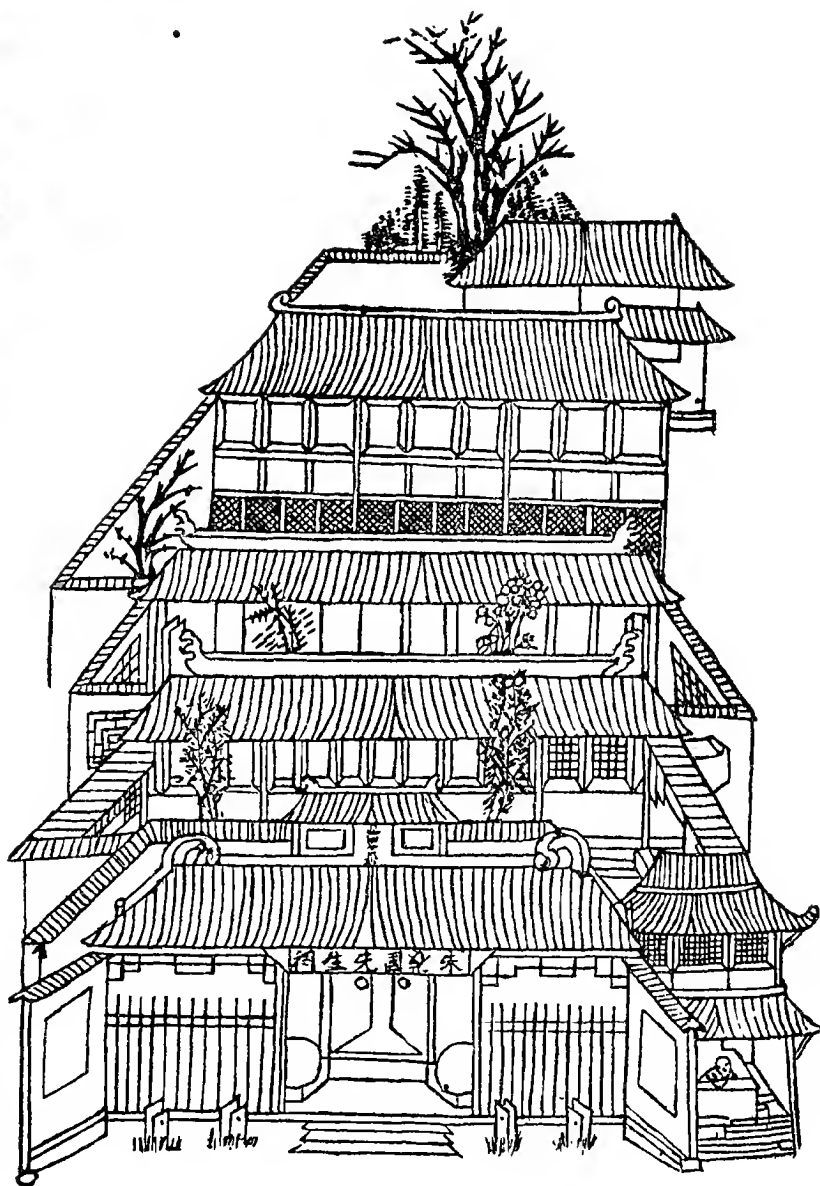


FIG. 1. THE MAIN ANCESTRAL HALL OF THE *tsu* OF CHU IN KIANGSU NAMED AFTER THE FIRST ANCESTOR LO-FU-KUNG. From: Chu Shih Tsung-p'u, Ch. 2, "Pictures of the Ancestral Halls," p. 1a.

but will write the names out on strips of paper for the ceremony, burning them afterwards. Here, as in the ritual, there is considerable variation with the social class and the neighborhood in which the family lives or where it comes from.

THE GRAVES OF THE FAMILY

The graves of the ancestors also are a subject of concern for the descendants. They have to be kept in good condition. Once a year, at the Festival of Clear-and-Brightness in spring, all families visit the graves of their forefathers with sacrifices of food and wine—an occasion known as "the sweeping of the graves."

This attachment to the ancestral graves is all the stronger as there is a widespread belief in a mystical association between the location of the bones of the ancestors and the fortune of the descendants.

The choice of proper sites for dwellings and burials has long been regarded as extremely important, since certain localities are lucky and others unlucky for those who stay there long. The auspiciousness of a location is determined by the configuration of mountains and waterways, since these are the "bones and the blood" of the Earth. Mineral veins, spoken of as the arteries of the earth, the directions and the winds all have to be taken into consideration. To be able to recognize a lucky site one has to be born with the gift. Thus the *tsu* of Ch'u attribute their prosperity to the ability of their first ancestor. He had come from Chekiang and at first proposed to settle his family on the mountains near the district city of Kao-an, because he could "see" that here they would be blessed with the good fortune of producing a prime minister. But on reflection he chose another spot in the plain which was not quite as lucky, but promised to offer long-continued prosperity (App. 10). If this is true for the site of a dwelling, it is just as true for the site of a burial-ground. When the parents are buried in a place that possesses the right *mana* the descendants will multiply and live in increasing prosperity, while an unlucky site will automatically reduce their fortune. Hence, the services of a geomancer who can "see" the value of different localities are much in demand for the choice of grave-sites. Should a family meet with misfortune soon after a burial, it is suspected that a wrong site has been chosen, and the coffin has to be moved to a better location.

These beliefs and practices form part of a complex of ideas regarding the mystical influence of nature on man which has been labelled Taoist. The Confucian scholar has often opposed it. Thus the philosopher Chu Hsi says on this subject: "Divining the auspiciousness of the place is to divine the beauty or ugliness of the location. If the place is beautiful, then the spirit will be happy, and the sons and grandsons prosperous. But what may be called the beauty of a place? The bright color of the soil and the flourishing of the vegetation are its evidence. But those concerned with taboos will choose a place according to its directions, and determine the auspiciousness of the day (of the funeral). They go so far as to leave out of account the welfare of the ancestors and worry solely about the benefit they may

obtain. This certainly is not the concern of a filial son who is burying his parents. Only the five calamities have to be avoided carefully: One should make sure that on some future day no road will pass by, nor a city wall built, nor a ditch dug there, that no powerful person will grab the land, nor a farmer's plough touch it."² In this excerpt "those concerned with taboos" means fortune-tellers and geomancers, who warn people of the danger of doing things on the wrong day or at the wrong place. Lu Shih-i (1611-1672) concedes that the descendants should choose a spot free from underground water and insects that would destroy the coffin, but condemns the art of "wind and water," which makes the sons forget that they have to achieve prosperity through virtue.³ Similarly Yao Shun-mu advises his sons to win their prosperity by their own efforts and not to rely solely on the protection of the ancestors by choosing a favorable site for their graves.⁴ However, in spite of such writings, the concept that it is important for future generations to find the best possible locations for the last resting place of the ancestors is accepted by all sections of Chinese society.

ANCESTOR VENERATION IN THE *TSU*

The *tsu* is responsible for performing the regular rites for the first ancestor, for the distant ancestors of all the component families, and also for the ancestors of lines of descent that have died out, so that no souls of members are ever forgotten completely.

Every *tsu* owns an ancestral hall, or *tz'ü-t'ang*, the size varying with the wealth of individual members and the prestige of the group. A *tsu* that has spread over a large area may form an aggregate of many branches, each with an individual ancestral hall, plus one for the founder of the group. For example, the *tsu* of Chu in eastern Kiangsu is spread over many communities, all tracing their descent from Lo-pu-kung, the honorary name of Chu Pê-yüan, who lived around 1080. His tomb and the ancestral hall bearing his name are situated on Mount Huei, west of Wusih. They are set in a huge garden that once belonged to him, but later passed into the hands of strangers. His descendants re-acquired the property, and today it forms a beautiful park with pavilions and ponds, with several ancestral halls set in between, the most impressive one of which is dedicated to Lo-pu-kung.⁵ This tendency is even stronger in Kwangtung and Fukien. In Phoenix Village, Kwangtung, the main ancestral hall is not used, except by the extended family which lives there. The two branches of the *tsu* meet regularly in the two new and large ancestral halls, while several smaller buildings serve the sub-groups.⁶ In Fukien each *tsu* feels at liberty to build as many ancestral halls as it pleases. Some have only one in which the first ancestor is venerated; others possess one for each generation of ancestors; still others build a *tz'ü-t'ang* for the founder of each branch.⁷

When a family moves out of a locality and establishes itself elsewhere, they

will for a time continue to use the old *tz'ü-t'ang* if it can be reached easily. As it grows into a *tsu* it soon thinks of constructing its own. The *tsu* of Informant P in Kwangtung had moved into their present village only fifty years ago. The parent village lying at some distance, the annual visit was soon felt as too inconvenient, and they built their own ancestral hall (App. 19).

In the *tz'ü-t'ang*, too, the ancestors are represented by tablets, but here the number of generations is not restricted. When a new generation is added to the family shrine, the tablets of the ancestors five generations removed are sent to the ancestral hall of the *tsu*, there to receive offerings with all the other bygone members of the group. The tablets used are a little different from those in the home, husband and wife being usually inscribed on the same board, whereas the family prepares one for each person.

In many cases the tablets are kept in separate rooms. To give one such example: The *tsu* of Yang in Wusih has an ancestral hall of ten rooms. The center room is dedicated to the first ancestor and the founders of the five branches of the *tsu*, two rooms to the east and three rooms to the west to those members who had achieved prominence through high honors received in the civil examinations, through official positions, or through outstanding virtue. Two side rooms at each end serve for the tablets of those members of each branch who had died without a blemish on their character.⁸ This segregation of ancestors reflects the emphasis on class within some *tsu*. The category of "virtuous" may be applied to persons who have excelled in filial piety, brotherly devotion, etc., but it includes also those who have contributed to the common funds. In App. 53 we see how the segregation into more important and less important ancestors on the basis of their contributions to the common building is used as an inducement. But in many cases all ancestors are placed on an equal footing in receiving the rites (App. X).

As mentioned, the *tsu* takes care of extinct branches. The *tsu* of Chao in Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu, deplored that in spite of the flourishing of the *tsu* as a whole, several branches have become extinct. Their names are inscribed on scrolls which are hung in the ancestral hall at the time of the sacrifices.⁹ The *tsu* of Fan in Soochow was originally composed of sixteen branches. Seven of these have died out, and in the surviving nine branches, too, many individuals died without heirs having been appointed to carry them on. Out of pity for these poor souls, and also partly out of fear that they might turn into vengeful ghosts, two rooms were instituted in the main ancestral temple of the *tsu* for them. Every year, at the time of the autumn ritual, the names of the several branches are inscribed on a sheet of white paper, and the sacrifices offered in front of them. Afterwards the paper is burned.¹⁰

Once or twice a year, in spring and/or autumn, the *tsu* meets to honor its ancestors, men only taking part. Attendance is usually compulsory, but boys under twelve are not expected to attend. In some *tsu*, particularly in those regions where great emphasis is placed on a formal education and advancement in the civil service,

the duty of attending is incumbent on the young men of better-off families only.

In *tsu* which have grown so as to form many branches and smaller sub-groups, a number of ancestors have to be honored in several ancestral halls. Since these are located at different places, a number of visits have to be paid by representatives of each sub-group (App. 13).

The actual performance, on the whole, follows the pattern used within the family. A good example is given in App. 10. The main roles are usually filled by the leaders of the *tsu* and its branches, but where much importance is attached to social position, the more prominent among the gentry conduct the rites.

The ritual is followed by a banquet for all participants. This commensal meal is as elaborate as the finances of the *tsu* will permit. On the one hand, it promotes the feeling of unity; on the other, it impresses on the minds of the younger members the differences in prestige within the group determined by the factors of generation-level, age and social standing, thus facilitating the maintenance of the approved behavior patterns.

Before the participants disperse, the meat used at the sacrifices is dealt out among them, for the food left over by the ancestors is supposed to carry their blessing and thus to bring good luck to the descendants who eat it. In this way all families in the *tsu* receive their share of sacrificial meat. In many *tsu* with an extensive membership this share of meat is converted into money, a form more welcome to those who have to make a long trip to reach the ancestral hall.

· THE GRAVES OF THE *TSU*

If the graves of ancestors are important for the individual family, they are also of great concern to the *tsu*. Genealogies are very specific about their location, so that they can be taken care of by members of the *chia* or the *tsu*. Very often maps give the exact location, so that no disputes may arise concerning the exact limits of the burial-grounds. All family instructions are particularly insistent in warning the sons not to neglect the graves of the ancestors. Graves should be kept trim and neat.¹¹ Strangers should be prevented from desecrating the place.¹² Many *tsu* forbid their members to fell the trees around the graves,¹³ sometimes directing the manager of the *tsu* property to take care of them and to have them trimmed once a year.¹⁴ This is because there is a certain association between the trees and the good-will of the ancestors, the character for ancestral protection (*yin*), being the same as that for "shade,"¹⁵ or between the souls of the ancestors and the life of the trees.¹⁶ But the lack of adequate fuel makes respect for the trees rather difficult.

In order that all members may be satisfied that the bones of their own individual ancestors rest in suitable surroundings, many *tsu* set aside land as burial-ground for those who cannot afford to buy land (for examples see App. 40 and 57). In the *tsu* of Ning in P'eng-lai, Shantung, even though very poor members have no part in the rites of ancestor veneration, the common grave-yard is open

to all.¹⁷ Often the manager of the common property is delegated to visit the common burial-ground and perform there the rites, all expenses being borne by the ancestral hall (as in App. 58). Naturally the descendants have to accompany him to honor the graves of their individual ancestors. The land of these *tsu* grave-yards, usually located in mountainous terrain, may be contributed by members, or the land around the tombs of early ancestors may be used for this purpose.

Because of the belief in the mystic relations between the location of the ancestral graves and the fortunes of the descendants, disputes within the *tsu* are frequent, the poorer families endeavoring to bury their dead near the graves of luckier *tsu* relatives.

The *tsu* of Chou in Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu, warns its members to bury their dead in order of generation in the common grave-yard, and not to be misguided by the belief in "wind and water" into digging graves where these are inconvenient. It forbids them to bury their dead by stealth in the land of others, and from selling the land in which the graves of their ancestors are located, also promising active support in case of encroachment by outsiders.¹⁸ In eastern Shantung, too, the theory of "wind and water" is an important factor in *tsu* conflicts.¹⁹

These conflicts are conspicuous among the quarrels and litigations that have to be straightened out by the leaders of the *tsu*. As they concern many generations in individual families or whole branches of the *tsu*, the documentary evidence and the decisions are recorded in detail in the genealogies. When it is determined that a grave-yard should not be used any further, it is declared "closed," and members and non-members are forbidden to trespass on it, though of course it is open for the regular rites.

However, the movement of population in times of unrest and war makes it impossible for the graves of all ancestors to be remembered. Often an effort is made to keep in mind at least all the more important ancestors. Thus, at the end of the Yüan dynasty (about 1367) the second generation ancestor of the *tsu* of T'ao in K'uai-chi, Chekiang, was buried in Ling-hai, 500 *li* from the home locality. Towards the last years of the Ming dynasty (about 1640) an outsider had seized the land and only after three years of litigations did a thirteenth generation descendant regain control of it. Due to the devastation of the region during the conquest by the Manchus, the graves were neglected, but in the reign of K'ang-hsi (1662-1721) a twelfth generation descendant regained possession of the land, and every few years some one was sent to perform the rites at the grave. But as there was no one near to enforce the property claims the land was again appropriated by outsiders, and was returned only after litigations conducted by a fifteenth generation descendant. From then on the rites were performed regularly every three years to prevent any re-occurrence of the troubles.²⁰

Thus graves cannot be removed or destroyed even though the property should pass into the hands of strangers. When individuals emigrate and settle in another

圖墓山嶂暉莊北房輅

西北



FIG. 2. THE ANCESTRAL GRAVES OF ONE BRANCH OF THE *tsu* OF CHU, SITUATED ON THE HUN-CHANG MOUNTAIN. From: *Ibid.*, Ch. 2, "Pictures of Graves," p. 7a.

part of the country for good, they will endeavor to take with them the bodies of their near ancestors, as in the case of the *tsu* of Fan in Szechuan (App. 40). When part of the family of emigrants remain near the old home and maintain a certain amount of property, they tend the ancestral graves, and the bodies of members who die abroad are brought back for burial. The mysterious tie which joins descendants to the bones of their ancestors also binds them to their native soil.

The same concern about ancestral tombs gives rise to numerous disputes between *tsu*, which are always faithfully recorded in the genealogies. To cite two examples of such quarrels: The *tsu* of Yang near Wusih was engaged in long litigations with people who were digging the mountain in which were buried the bones of their ancestors. Evidently the offenders were seeking ore, as this region produces copper, but the *tsu* of Yang accused them of hurting the "arteries of the dragon," and thus bringing misfortune to all the descendants. The administration upheld their claims.²¹ The *tsu* of Wei in Hengyang, Hunan, had some graves on a mountain which belonged to the *tsu* of Ou-yang. The latter claimed the burial-ground as their own, and by force prevented the others from performing the ritual at this place. The *tsu* of Wei offered money or land in exchange for property rights to the grave-yards, but the other party would not accept, accusing the Wei of faking their genealogical records in order to have a pretext for seizing the doubtless lucky property of the Ou-yang. Further, the owners of the mountain built a charcoal oven close to the graves. The administration decided that the *tsu* of Wei was to perform the rites for the ancestors from afar, and admonished them to make efforts to surpass their enemies in the civil examinations, in other words, to rely on their own efforts rather than on the luck derived from ancestral graves. However, the Ou-yang were warned to respect the graves.²²

GENEALOGIES

|| T has been pointed out that the genealogy is a most effective instrument for recalling to *tsu* members their relationship to each other and to stimulate interest in the affairs of their *tsu*. "It has always been true that families with virtue and a long history have roots that are well cultivated and branches that are widespread. Not only do they flourish prolifically in those places where they have resided as a group for generations, but those that have moved away often will rise to prominence and prosperity and further increase the reputation of their *tsu*. . . . If it has been the function of the genealogy to enable people formerly to trace their single origin, then it also must be depended upon to show the history of their family to posterity."¹

SIZE AND CONTENT OF GENEALOGIES

Nearly all *tsu* have a genealogy. Even the *tsu* of Informant E, which has no formal structure at present, possesses one. The genealogies are printed and revised from time to time, ideally every thirty years at least, but actually at irregular intervals. To give an example, the *tsu* of Huang in Chiang-tu, Kiangsu, has printed fourteen editions of its genealogy since 1618.

This *tsu* was particularly assiduous in keeping the record of its membership up-to-date, compiling a genealogy every 20.8 years on the average.² The *tsu* of T'an in Kiangsi published its genealogy first in 1423 and the 12th edition in 1921, that is, a new edition was compiled every 41.5 years on the average.³ These are *tsu* with a long history; many others have only a few editions to boast of. The general economic and political conditions of the country, as well as the circumstances of the *tsu*, must influence the length of the interval between two editions.

The compilation of the genealogies is a work of considerable magnitude. The last edition of the genealogy of the *tsu* of Tsêng in Hunan required the labor of 109 *tsu* members. One hundred twenty-three copies of the complete genealogy of sixteen volumes were distributed to the twelve branches: some to ancestral halls, some to the heads of subdivisions, others to individual families. The funds of \$5461 Chinese currency were contributed by seventy individuals, giving from \$2 to \$640⁴ each. Not all genealogies require such a large staff of compilers and editors. In the *tsu* of Hsia in Chiang-tu only nineteen men, belonging to five generations, worked on the eleventh edition of their genealogy.⁵

So far we have spoken of genealogies kept by the localized *tsu*. While these are the most common, individual families who do not belong to a *tsu* organization, may have a hand-written one, and *tsu* aggregates may compile their genealogy to

embrace their membership in several provinces. Thus, the combined genealogy of the *tsu* of Ho in Anhui traces the relationship of groups by this name in Anhui, Kiangsi, Honan, Fukien, Hupei, Hunan, Kiangsu, and Kwangtung, all from one origin.⁶

The *tsu* in Kwangtung are well known for organizing themselves into large groups on the basis of surnames and even fictitious relationship. The following gives an idea of the scope of the genealogy of such a *tsu* aggregate. One hundred eighteen groups by the surname of Chien in eastern Kwangtung had joined together, their representatives meeting once a year for the purpose of performing the ancestral ritual at the common ancestral hall and for discussing common problems.⁷ One section of the genealogy gives the movements of all the 118 subdivisions since the Sung dynasty, the date of their settlement in their present localities, and the places from which they emigrated.⁸ Drawn up as it is in 1928, there is a modern influence noticeable in the organization of the work of compilation and editing, which was determined upon by the "Self-government Association of the *Chia* and the *Tsu*." The staff consisted of the following:

- 1 Chairman
- 10 Vice-chairmen of different subdivisions
- 1 Manager
- 4 Honorary Managers
 - (None of the above received salary or traveling expenses)
- 2 Assistant Managers, with salary and traveling expenses
- 2 Honorary Assistant Managers, without salary and traveling expenses
- 1 Chief Editor, without salary and traveling expenses
- 2 Co-Editors, without salary and traveling expenses
- 7 Co-Editors, six with salary and traveling expenses, one with traveling expenses only
- 8 Research workers, with salary and traveling expenses
- 1 Compiler, with salary and traveling expenses
- 1 Checker, without salary
- 3 Proofreaders, with salary and traveling expenses
- 1 Secretary, with salary and traveling expenses
- 2 Treasurers, with salary and traveling expenses
- 2 Treasurer-Business managers, with salary and traveling expenses⁹

This makes forty-eight functionaries in all. The designations have been modernized and the setup is rather more complicated than that for the compilation of the genealogy of a localized *tsu*. Though the genealogy is contained in only eighteen volumes it required extensive research. On the whole, the pattern is the same as that for the older works of the same type.

The genealogy of the descendants of Confucius, published in 1937, was prepared by 66 persons working for ten years.¹⁰ The work cost \$10,006.70 Chinese

currency,¹¹ including \$8934.39 of expenses for the convention of representatives of the various branches.¹² The complete genealogy of 154 volumes was given to the branches for \$60 a set, while for the benefit of the smaller sub-branches the genealogical tables of their groups were printed separately and handed out for \$3 each.¹³ Naturally such a huge undertaking cannot be repeated very often. According to the prefaces there have been only six editions, the first in 1085 A.D., the next ones in 1622, 1653, 1684, 1745, and the last one in 1937. This *shih-chia*, or "family of traditional high standing," as it calls itself, consists of 60 branches scattered in 246 communities, totalling a membership of 183,543 in 1937, which does not include four groups of which the census of living members is not given.¹⁴

As we shall see the published genealogies contain far more material than the genealogy of the various lines of descent. The word designating such a work is *tsung-p'u*, when it includes all members of a *tsu* aggregate; *tsu-p'u*, when it refers to the membership of a *tsu*; or *chia-p'u*, if it serves a still smaller group. The word *p'u* in these expressions means "chart." The main part of the published work consists of genealogical charts drawn up so as to give only the patrilineal lines of descent: from the first ancestor to his sons and grandsons, and down to the descendants of the present day. Matrilineal ancestors never enter into these charts, hence the fan-shaped chart is unknown. Straight lines trace the relationship between individuals. Under each name is noted the age of the person at death, the family name of the wife or wives, the number of sons and daughters, the family names of sons-in-law, achievements on the part of the individual, and sometimes the location of his grave. Since the genealogies are distributed to individual branches, the membership in each branch is sometimes further elaborated in the copies that are handed out to this particular group.

Further, each genealogy contains eulogistic biographies of the important men and women, that is, mothers, in the *tsu*, sometimes with the portraits of the best-known ancestors; the location of the graves, accompanied by maps or pictures; sometimes an account of the ancestral hall with the accompanying sketch; and a description of the rites performed by this particular group; moral injunctions, sometimes rules regarding discipline and the management of the property of the *tsu*; in some cases, the contracts by which common land was acquired, and the exact size of each field composing this land. Many genealogies are distinguished by a commendation from an emperor. Further, the prefaces of all previous editions are given in the last compilation. The elaborateness and care with which each section is worked out vary with each *tsu*, depending in part on the funds at the disposal of the compiling staff and in part on the scholarship available within the *tsu*.

REGISTRATION FOR THE ENTRY OF NAMES

To facilitate the compilation of data for the genealogy, many *tsu* keep a register of births and deaths. App. 10 gives a good account of how births are

announced at the ancestral hall by the father at New Year. Since the genealogy is based on agnatic affiliation, boys are more important than girls, but the names of the latter may be inserted in the published genealogy. The families into which women of the *tsu* have married and those from which wives were taken are usually mentioned, without giving individual names. Births, deaths and marriages are also recorded by the head of the eldest line in each *fang*, until the editors of the new genealogy call for the information. Some *tsu* demand that a payment be made at the time of registration of new members, as in the *tsu* of Fan in Szechuan, which regards such a fee as a "share" in the ancestral hall. Without doubt no payment is required for girls (App. 40). The *tsu* of T'an used to charge half a Chinese ounce of silver (App. 16) for registering boys, an exorbitant sum for poor families. In the *tsu* of Hsü in Chiang-ning, Kiangsu, it is made imperative to announce a birth to the ancestors and to register the infant. Only two cash are charged as a contribution to the expenses of compiling the genealogy. This *tsu* requires that a person who adopts the child of a relative as his heir announce it to the ancestors, notify the head of the *tsu* and his assistants, as well as the whole *tsu*, of this fact, before the child can be entered in the genealogy as his adopted son. He has to contribute one ounce of silver to pay for this registration.¹⁵ The *tsu* of Wu in Wu-chin, which has modernized its organization (see App. 45), distributes blanks through its ancestral hall and demands that these be filled out by the heads of the family. These blanks contain information regarding the changes in the population, including the names of members living in other places. At the end of the year the information is incorporated into the temporary registration book.¹⁶

Not all descendants are entered in the final draft of the genealogy. As mentioned, hardened offenders are punished by omission from the genealogy. Such a prohibition may be extended to include members who contracted wrong marriages. Thus, the *tsu* of Li in Hunan omits those who marry the wife of a brother, as well as those who marry someone by the same surname, both of these having offended against the incest taboo.¹⁷ Most genealogies contain strict rules that a member who has been adopted by a person belonging to another *tsu* has to be left out, as well as individuals who have been adopted into the *tsu* as sons or sons-in-law. Even where there is a certain leniency, such individuals are set apart. Thus the genealogy of the *tsu* of Lao near Tsinan, Shantung, allows those of its members who have been adopted by persons in another *tsu* to be mentioned, in the hope that some day they will return to the fold. Also, since adopted sons and sons-in-law usually perform the duties of caring for the adoptive parents in their old age and of burying them, they are considered to have the right to be entered in the genealogical tables, but the name must be accompanied by a special mark.¹⁸

In a localized *tsu*, the keeping of the record of membership presents few difficulties, but when a great number of branches are scattered over many places, considerable efforts have to be made to gather all the pertinent information. Thus

the *tsu* aggregate of Chien in Kwangtung had eight men traveling around to the different branches for this purpose. When the *tsu* of Wu, mentioned above, began compiling the latest edition of its genealogy in 1923, they advertised in the newspapers for members whose names and whereabouts had been lost. Various individuals answered the call; however, the *tsu* did not accept them, because there had been no time to verify the assertions of these individuals.¹⁹ Since this group had considerable social standing in its neighborhood, the eagerness on the part of strangers is understandable, while the editors, though anxious to include all members, had to exercise circumspection in admitting strangers on slight evidence.

When the *tsu* is large and influential, it is sometimes difficult to gain admittance even though the relationship is clear. Thus the descendants of four members whose names appeared in the old genealogy of the *tsu* of Ch'ên in Hupei had been left out in later editions, and they themselves had lost their genealogies for two hundred years. When they asked to be readmitted in recent years, the *tsu* aggregate voted to permit this move, but since for those two hundred years they had contributed nothing to the expenditures of the ancestral hall, the expenses of litigations, and of the publications of the genealogy, together a sizable sum, they were to be admitted only to the ancestral ritual, but were to have no part in the benefits of the school-land and the ritual land.²⁰

GENEALOGIES AS HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

This brings us to the question of the reliability of the genealogies as historical documents. It has been said that each *tsu* can trace its descent directly from the first ancestor who settled in a particular neighborhood. Since few genealogies go beyond the Sung dynasty, it is possible that in many cases the descent lines traced from this first ancestor are genuine. But all *tsu* go beyond that to find a more illustrious ancestor in the earliest historical records of the nation, sometimes a figure in mythical antiquity. The *tsu* of Tsêng in Hunan believes it can trace its descent from a prince of the Hsia dynasty, whose father reigned from 2218-2168 B.C., and from Tsêng Shên, the disciple of Confucius. They point out a fifteenth-generation descendant of Tsêng Shên, who lived around 10 A.D., and record the separation of three brothers in the nineteenth generation, one of whom moved from his native Shantung to Kiangsi, from which province a branch migrated to Hunan around 1460.²¹ There was a good reason to remember the descent from the great disciple of Confucius, for during the last dynasties, not only the descendants of the sage, but those of several other great ethical teachers as well, were accorded titles and special privileges. Thus in 1807, the *tsu* of Tsêng was granted the request to be relieved of all duties of labor service, and in 1821 the hereditary title of "Professor of the Imperial Academy" was bestowed on them to be borne by one member.²² Since descent from the disciple of the sage was such an honor and brought such privileges, efforts were made to prove the relationship to the parent *tsu* which had

remained in Shantung. Also, the *tsu* in Hunan asked for permission to erect a temple to the father of Tsêng Shên, who also was a disciple of Confucius.²³ As the rites of veneration for Tsêng Shên already were carried on by the parent *tsu* in Shantung, the group in Hunan took over the performance of those for his father, and thus emphasized their claim to an illustrious ancestry.

To a historian many flaws may be visible in the rather detailed account of the ancestors of this *tsu* since Confucius' time. One might ask, for example, since no genealogies were kept till after the Han dynasty, how was the exact family tree remembered? Yet this is one of the most carefully worked out genealogies. Many other *tsu* are quite ready to take as their earliest ancestor any important personage of the same surname in China's early history, and to count any illustrious personage of the same surname in subsequent times as a forefather. The *tsu* of Fang in Hupei claims to have been descended from a general at the time of the Yellow Emperor of mythical times. Since he was supposed to have held a place called Fang-shan²⁴ as a fief, it was assumed that all families bearing the surname of Fang must have descended from him.

These attempts to trace the origin of one's *tsu* to some important personage and to claim this or that famous individual as one's ancestor have interest as a sociological phenomenon rather than for historical accuracy. While such an ancestor undoubtedly confers prestige on the *tsu*, he also ties up the *tsu* with the historic and mythical past of the nation. This motive is best understood when one considers the many foreigners who have settled among the Chinese during many centuries and have become acculturated. To legitimize themselves they had to build up a Chinese pedigree, and naturally it was easier to claim descent from some illustrious person living at a time when accurate historic records were still unknown.

The Chinese central government often demanded that non-Chinese adopt Chinese names. The Ming emperors who drove the Mongols out of China were particularly eager to bestow Chinese family names on Mongol officials in their employ. Thus in 1377 Ho-ni-ch'ih, compiler of Mongol documents in the Imperial Academy, was given the Chinese name of Ho Chuang. An observer at that time wrote that everywhere Mongols and "People with Colored Eyes" (that is, white people with light eyes who had come in under the Mongol regime), were increasingly adopting Chinese surnames, so that there was no more difference between them and the Chinese. Many of them were asking for government positions, others had acquired an important position in society, still others became wealthy businessmen.²⁵ This did not apply only to the upper strata of society. In 1403 the Emperor Yung-lo granted a request by the Minister of War that Tatar soldiers in the border garrisons, who lacked surnames and often bore identical first names, be given Chinese surnames.²⁶ At the same time the government demanded that all Chinese who during the Mongol dynasty had adopted Mongol names change back to Chinese ones.²⁷

Today one rarely meets with a surname which does not occur in the *Hundred Family Names*, containing about 470 names. Yet when in the early years of the Ming dynasty (around 1370) an official was ordered to collect family names he found 1918,²⁸ of which most were of foreign origin. There can be no doubt that a good part of the population of Shantung, Hopei, Shansi and the other northern provinces is, patrilineally speaking, descended from non-Chinese ancestors.

The best example of an ethnic group trying to become Chinese are the Manchus. During the last dynasty they took on Chinese culture wholesale, yet they still maintained a certain amount of group feeling, because of the privileges they enjoyed. After the Revolution of 1911 the latter were lost, and all Manchus made efforts to identify themselves completely with the Chinese. They preferably chose surnames that were fairly common, or those that held some reference to their origin. Thus the members of princely families called themselves "Lo," one of the syllables of their Manchu clan name of Ai-hsin-chueh-lo (Ai-sin-gurun); or "Wang"—"king"; or "Chin," as they were descendents of the Chin Nomads who occupied North China toward the end of the Sung dynasty (i.e., 1125-1234). Others take on a name like Chao, the first name in the *Hundred Family Names*, or Wên—"literature." To substantiate their use of such a name, and to further identify themselves as Chinese they often endeavor to obtain the genealogy of a family of that name and work it over into their own. The search for a family tree thus has been part of the acculturation process of various invading groups ever since the end of the Han dynasty. The *T'ung-chih* contains a list of 295 names of definitely foreign origin, all of which have disappeared.²⁹ There is no doubt that the reason was the adoption of Chinese names to hide the origin of the bearer. A good number of these families must have reinforced their claim to membership in Chinese society with a suitable genealogy.

However, not all *tsu* of foreign origin are so anxious to forget their ancestry. The *tsu* of Ma, for instance, is a good example. Descended from a Turkish general, who received a title in 961 and settled in Shensi,³⁰ the branches spread out into Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Honan, Fukien, Szechuan, Yunnan, Kweichow and Anhui.³¹ The Turkish name of the *tsu*, Lu-mu, is recorded, and the name of the first ancestor is given in Arabic. They evidently retained the Mohammedan religion, and there is only a short mention of ancestor rites, but in every other respect the group has become Chinese, counting among their ancestors even a "filial son" who performed a miracle to cure his mother.³²

The gradual adoption of Chinese names by foreigners occasionally met with some objection from this or that individual, as for example on the part of the observer who mentioned the Mongols and the People of Colored Eyes. But on the whole it has been tolerated and, the motives for such a change being well understood, no concerted effort ever was made to stop it.

Within Chinese society, too, changes of surnames took place for various rea-

sons. Sometimes the surname constituted a danger to the individual. At the overthrow of each dynasty the members of the imperial house and all who were in some way related to it became political offenders. For fear that a rebellion against the new ruler might be incited many of them were killed. Hence great numbers changed their family names to hide their relationship to the fallen dynasty. This was the case with the first ancestor of the *tsu* of Hu in Anhui (App. 13), who was a prince of the dynasty of T'ang. When the Manchu dynasty came to power all people who bore the name of Chu, the surname of the Ming imperial house, were in danger, even those who were not really members, but only had the name bestowed upon them. So within a short time the name of Chu had almost disappeared.

Other causes for a change of surname are the bestowal of the imperial family name as a special favor, adoption, the taboo on the use of the personal name of the emperor by a subject, and the desire for affiliation with a *tsu* of good standing. Furthermore, there are cases of men taking the name of their mother's family, when the latter was politically influential.³³ The adoption of a son-in-law is another reason for a change in surname. When the genealogy is well kept such a transfer of allegiance, patrilineally speaking, will be remembered, and it sometimes happens that the descendants of an adopted husband return to the *tsu* of their ancestor.

A man with a pedigree of no consequence will sometimes try to affiliate himself with a well known family of the same surname by "proving" his descent from a common ancestor. Such actions are highly resented by the owners of a genuine pedigree and they try to keep their genealogies out of the hands of unscrupulous people. Thus the *tsu* of Yang in Wusih complains that some people fraudulently claim to be their *tsu* members. Making friends with ignorant members they are enabled to see the genealogy, copy the names of the early generations and add them to their own genealogy to justify their claim to a relationship. They then ask to be included in the genealogy of the *tsu*, but a close scrutiny always proves their assertions to be false. Hence, *tsu* members are warned to guard their genealogies well from the eyes of strangers.³⁴

The more prominent the *tsu* the more likely are the fraudulent claims of affiliation with it. The *tsu* of K'ung, descended from Confucius, affords a good example. In the Sung dynasty a man had been appointed by imperial decree to take care of the graves in the temple of Confucius. His original surname was not K'ung, but working for the K'ung family, he took the name of K'ung Ching kai. A descendant of his, in a time of unrest, put aside the legitimate heir to one of the five hereditary titles bestowed upon the descendants of the sage, and assumed it himself. This was detected in time, and the imposter ousted. His group became known as the "outer court," to distinguish them from the "inner court" of legitimate descendants. They imitated the organization of the "inner court" and, with all contributing to the expenses, were able to cause trouble to the main *tsu* at various times. Thus, in 1190, a member of the "outer court" appealed against a member of the "inner court" for

Table of generations of the *fang* of Pa-kung

46. generation 47. gener. 48. gener. 49. gener. 50. gener.

Record of Pa-kung's *fang*

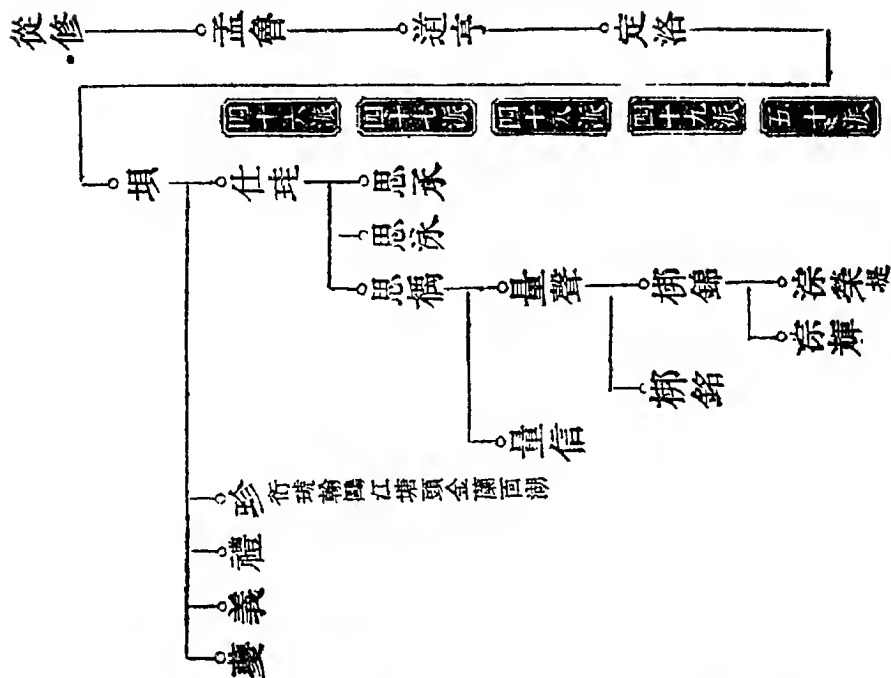
46. generation

Pa-kung's eldest son	Shih-kui	(Informal name, Official position, Location of grave)
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Wife(of) Ho Family	(Posthumous title, Location of grave, Notice that that particular grave-yard was closed in 1873 by order of the <i>tsu</i> , Number of sons, Their names)
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47. generation

堤公房世系圖 接上崇德房系



堤公房齒錄

四十五派



堤長 仕珪 字玉堂翰林院學士卒葬小江水口邊老祖山甲山庚向
離城八十里

配 何氏 請封夫人卒葬衡陽西鄉十八都一區白象袁宗衡老祖
山癸山丁向有碑記 該墳山於 清同治十二年闔族
封禁永不許進葬 生子三 思承 思泳 思耦

四十六派

FIG. 3. A PAGE FROM THE GENEALOGICAL TABLES OF THE *tsu* OF TS'ENG IN HUNAN.
From: Ts'eng Shih Ssu-hsiu Tsu-p'u, Ch. 1, p. 49b-50a.

preventing his son from attending the school of the *tsu* of K'ung. The Board of Education and Religion, however, decided in favor of the accused.³⁵

A branch with a fraudulent claim to relationship may be tolerated for a long time. Thus, the noted scholar Li Chao-lo in the Ch'ing dynasty states that an ancestor seven generations above him had taken the name of the *tsu* of Li in Wu-chin, which means that for purposes of ancestral ritual, educational and social benefits they belonged to that group. This branch, however, developed weakly, counting only thirty men in his time, while the main *tsu* flourished prolifically. The latter finally refused to accept any more of the ancestral tablets of his group in the ancestral hall. As the original ancestor had been a member of the *tsu* of Wang, the latter were approached to allow the group to return to their fold and resume the old surname, but, their genealogy failing to show the relationship to the ancestor of the scholar, the applicants were denied restitution of their membership and had to form a *tsu* by themselves, building their own ancestral hall. They forbade their descendants to intermarry with the *tsu* of Wang, the incest taboo being one way of remembering the relationship.³⁶

When the various reasons for changing surnames are considered, it is apparent that only a limited number of lineages have retained their surnames and *tsu* affiliations without change through the centuries, and that the number of genealogies authentic in every respect cannot be very great.

While such frauds are despised, it is considered legitimate for anyone who has achieved success to desire a long ancestry, as the example of the *tsu* of Informant T in Chekiang shows (App. 20).

Efforts of enlarging *tsu* to take in all of the same surname, or *hsing*, for reasons of offense and defense, are prevalent in Kwangtung, but in other places, too, such an attempt is made from time to time (see App. 61). Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682) says that the tendency of uniting whole *hsing* by genealogies is very confusing. The motives, he asserts, are selfishness and the desire to form large associations in order to ruin the state and harm the people. So he proposes that those who want to join into *tsu* aggregates must notify the government and have their genealogies examined by competent historians.³⁷ The combined genealogy of the various *tsu* of the name of Fang in the district of Huang-kang, Huang-pi and other counties in Hupei, is an example of such an attempt. Published in 1924, its compilation was instigated by a war-lord who had risen from small beginnings and felt he needed a pedigree and the backing of a large relationship group. So he encouraged the eighty-one groups of his surname to join together and combine their genealogies.³⁸ We have already seen how far back into antiquity they go in the search for a first ancestor.

In Kwangtung the *tsu* of Liu, Kuan, Chao and Chang are affiliated by tracing their ancestry to four romantic figures by these names in the period of the Three Kingdoms (220-264), who have become immensely popular through the novel of this name. These are numerically weaker groups, a disadvantage in an area of in-

tense competition between *tsu*. By joining into a relationship group on a fictional basis—three of the above men were blood-brothers and the other a close associate, they have a call upon each other's assistance in time of need. Their clubhouses may be found in Chinese communities in the United States, as well as in all cities of Kwangtung. Similarly the *tsu* of Hu and Yüan are weak, and for self-protection have joined with the widespread *tsu* of Ch'ên on the basis of their common descent from the mythical Emperor Shun.

Not all genealogies of *tsu* aggregates are unhistorical. The genealogy of the *hsing* of Chien in Kwangtung, mentioned before, appears to have been compiled by careful scholars. They are well aware of the fact that *tsu* bearing the same surname often are of different origin, but assert that the Chien belong to one relationship group entirely.³⁹ While no critical study can be made of the methods of the editors, this is an exceedingly rare name, and their contention may well be justified.

Thus we may say that the early part of each genealogy is purely fictional, motivated as it is by a desire for an exalted ancestry. But the figure of the first ancestor who settled in a given locality may often be authentic, and the descent lines usually are recorded carefully, although the frequency of early ancestors who are princes or high officials warns against too easy an acceptance of their historicity. In many regions the pride of the *tsu* in their ancestry to some degree safeguards the accuracy of the genealogy, yet there are many loopholes by which families with no pedigree can acquire one when this seems useful. In other parts the historical accuracy of genealogies is considered unimportant if it is an obstacle to the consolidation of *tsu* into larger aggregates.

THE HIGH REGARD FOR GENEALOGIES

To avoid the genealogy being misused by unscrupulous strangers every edition is limited to the number of families and ancestral halls that are to receive copies. These copies are numbered before distribution and the name of each recipient is registered, so that in case of abuse the negligent person can be called to account.

Moreover, members are cautioned to preserve their genealogies from harm. One writer instructs his *tsu* relatives: "Every year, at the Clear-and-Brightness Festival, when the ancestral rites are performed, each one should bring his registered copy to the meeting in the ancestral hall to be looked over once. After the ceremony each is to take his home. Should the volumes have been gnawed at by mice, or dirtied by oil stains, or the characters rubbed through in some places, the head of the *tsu*, together with the other *tsu* members, must punish or reprimand the negligent one right in front of the ancestors, according to the extent of his fault. They are to choose a wiser and more capable descendant to take care of that copy, and enter his name into the register, so as to allow a checkup. Should there be irresponsible members who sell their genealogy, or copy the original to deceive the *tsu* and obtain profit for themselves, causing the forgery to become mixed up with the genuine

genealogy and thus confusing the descent lines, such a person does not only offend the *tsu*, but also the ancestors. The *tsu* members should expel him, and refuse him admittance to the ancestral hall. Further, the *tsu* members should be convened and a petition handed to the authorities, so that the whereabouts of the genealogy may be traced and the crime (of false assumption of membership) punished."⁴⁰

Many genealogies contain instructions to the same effect. This gives an idea of how the genealogy is prized as a document proving one's membership in a specific group. Nor does this feeling belong to the past entirely. One of the genealogies acquired by Columbia University bears these words in handwriting on the cover: "All our descendants should know from whom they are descended. This genealogy should be treasured from generation to generation. In the fall of the 10th year (of the Republic, i.e. 1921) I had contributed to the printing, and Mr. Hsieh Ch'i has been asked to carry this copy safely to me across a thousand *li*. So I am writing these few lines to remind my sons and grandsons that they are to store it away carefully. It is fortunate that in this third year of the Chinese-Japanese Incident this genealogy is still in good condition, this being the 29th year of the Republic (i.e., 1940)."⁴¹ We can sense behind these restrained expressions the anxiety of the old gentleman fearing that either the disturbed conditions, or the negligence of his descendants may cause the loss of the cherished document. It is doubtful that many younger people still retain such a feeling for their genealogy. The following passage from the genealogy of the *tsu* of Ch'in in Hupei shows that the older generation is well aware of the change that is taking place: "Since Marxism has become popular, the society based on *tsung-fa* (system of organization of the extended family and the *tsu*) has been shaken. The genealogy is the foundation of a society based on *tsung-fa*. Should the *tsu* be devoid of a genealogy, then the *li-chiao* (preferred pattern of conduct) will not be taught and the status of old and young will become confused. When these evil practices develop to their extremes, it will go so far that a son will kill his father and a younger brother will kill his older brother, and the order of humanity will be degraded to that of a bird and animal kingdom."⁴²

THE JUDICIARY POWERS OF THE TSU

LI AND LAW

If the *tsu* exercises considerable autonomy in the legal sense, it is at the expense of the authority of the state. The reason for such a relinquishment of power by the central authority lies in the effectiveness of the *tsu* in maintaining moral standards among its members. To the Confucian scholar-statesman it is more desirable to develop in the super-ego a consciousness of the person's moral obligations than to restrain immoral behavior by threats of punishment.

The teachings of the Confucian school have always emphasized the importance of *li*. Various translations of this word, such as convention, ritual, etiquette, ceremonial, etc. are all misleading. It is best expressed as "approved patterns of behavior between individuals standing in a definite relationship to each other, and in conformance with a definite system of values relating to such social relationships."

Confucian scholars have always emphasized the importance of *li* and minimized the function of law for the running of a well-ordered society. "If the people be led by laws and uniformity sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid punishment, but have no sense of shame. If they be led by virtue and uniformity is given them by the rules of propriety (*li*), they will have the sense of shame, and, moreover, will become good."¹ This statement by Confucius well represents the attitude of his school, which at all times opposed the application of a rigid code of laws as the policy of "rule by power," because it provides sanctions only after the perpetration of a crime. Under their ideal of "rule by benevolence" *li* is used to prevent crime before its inception.² While law is imposed from above *li* grows out of the dominant attitudes in the community. In fact, *li* has a coercive power almost as great as law, but transmitted to the individual by the socialization process of childhood and youth, the personality comes to perform its dictates automatically. That is, it operates through inner controls, law through an outer coercive force, a difference well expressed by Lu Shih-i (1611-1672): "Law obliges men to follow it; *li* transforms men. Law makes men fear; *li* makes men love each other."³ In this quotation the word "transforms" is used in the sense of "educating."

For this reason the central authority has always entrusted the family and the *tsu* with the moral education and disciplining of its members, and the civil code remained underdeveloped.

The penal code strongly re-enforces the regulations of *li*, particularly those aspects that safeguard the authority and the privileges of the elder or superior, so that *li* has really penetrated deeply into the law code. Since many moral issues

were decided by the family and, as we shall see, by the *tsu*, or, where the latter is weak, by the village community, *li* has often taken on the function of an informal code of laws. In cases when the imperial code lacked proper provisions, it was considered correct to draw upon *li* in judging crimes.⁴

Li being more important than law for the order of society, the *tsu*, as well as the family, is given much freedom in maintaining discipline among its members.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF ETHICAL VALUES

If the composing of quarrels and the administration of justice are among the chief duties of *tsu* leaders, the positive side, too, is emphasized. Old people often remind the young to exhibit virtuous conduct on every occasion and point to examples of fame achieved by this means by heroes of many stories.

Some *tsu* place an equal emphasis on the encouragement of moral behavior as on the punishment of offenses. Sung Lien (1310-1381) advised people in these terms: "The old and the young should meet at the ancestral hall on a lucky day of the month. After paying their respects to the ancestors they should sit down. One of them is told to recite the ancient instructions and the law of the land. When the recitation is over, an old and wise person should expound the meaning (of the texts read) and lead in reciting. The names of all participants should be put down in a book. The younger and less important members should *tsu-i* (greet) those whose behavior has been characterized by filial piety, fraternal devotion, loyalty to the country, or faithfulness to friends. And (their merit) should be marked under their names in the book. If there should be someone whose behavior is iniquitous, he should be made to salute all the elders sitting down, in order to shame him. If within a month he has changed his conduct he will be treated as formerly."⁵ Although this advice is meant for the extended family rather than for the *tsu*, some *tsu* have adopted the pattern.

The Chéng family made use of this occasion to assemble the young people and remind them of the behavior expected of them. "On the first and fifteenth of the month after the head of the family has led the members in paying their respects in the ancestral hall, they come out and he sits in the elevated part of the hall. The male and female members of the family stand below (that is, at the bottom of the steps). Twenty-four beats are sounded on the drum. Then a young boy chants: 'Listen, listen, listen! All who are sons must be filial to their parents. Those who are wives must respect their husbands. Those who are elder brothers must love their younger brothers. Those who are younger brothers must respect their older brothers. Listen, listen, listen! Do not attend to your private benefit so as to harm the duty to all! Do not be lazy so as to neglect your affairs! Do not live luxuriously so as to deserve the punishment of Heaven! Do not listen to the words of women, so as to confuse harmonious relations! Do not commit wrongs by violence so as to disturb the peace of the home! Do not become drunk, so as to pervert

your nature! If there is (i.e., if you have) one of these (vices), then your virtue (merit) will become extinct. Also you will destroy that which was promised you. Look back at the instructions of the ancestors! To them is tied decay and prosperity. (I) say it again and again. You should be strongly determined to avoid these (bad habits). Listen, listen, listen!" All *tsu-i*, and divide into two groups sitting down on the east and west sides of the room. A young person is ordered to recite reverently some stories of filial piety and fraternal devotion. Then all *tsu-i* to each other and leave.⁸ Although this group is called a "*chia*," since its membership had reached three thousand, it really constituted a *tsu*.

The instructions of the *chia* of P'ang, written in the Ming dynasty, prescribe two meetings of the same nature monthly for this group of families. As in the Chêng family their purpose was moral advice, but it allows far more active participation by all members of the group (App. 24). Here the meetings are organized in turn by heads of the families, analogous to the management of property by rotation in so many *tsu*.

The *tsu* of Chao in Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu, prescribes for the younger ones among its members: "On the 1st and 15th of each month, as well as on holidays, the sons and younger brothers are to greet and pay their respects to their parents, then to their uncles, then to their older brothers and elders. After that they are to go together to the ancestral hall, dust off the furniture, light the incense and candles, and kneel down to greet (the ancestors). After the ceremony the injunctions of the ancestors are to be read once, in order to guide and exhort the members of the *tsu*." Such meetings do not seem to have occurred regularly in most *tsu*, since *tsu* regulations rarely make any mention of them. Informal discussions within the extended or conjugal families on moral questions are much more common.

Occasionally a *tsu* keeps in the ancestral hall a record of the conduct of those members who are worthy of praise. The *tsu* of Hsü gives a list of the kind of conduct that qualifies a person to be entered in this book, and later to be mentioned honorably in the genealogy (App. 28).

While encouragement of behavior in consonance with ethical ideals is given at times, it is less obvious in the *tsu* regulations than is the warning against behavior disapproved by society.

DISCIPLINARY POWERS OF *TSU* ELDERS

The leaders of the *tsu* are given a good deal of autonomy by the government in dealing with disputes and offenses within the *tsu*. This policy presents advantages to both the administrator and the *tsu*. For the former it cuts down his work to a considerable extent. As the law, moreover, is itself based on the *li* that regulates human relationships, and since quarrels between relatives are usually of such a complex nature that the law cannot cover every case, the wiser course is to leave the exercise of justice to the *tsu* leaders. A common saying has it: "How-

ever wise he may be, an official is unable to determine right and wrong in a dispute between family members." Also for serious crimes against the state, such as rebellion, the *tsu* leaders could be held responsible. As for the members of the *tsu*, a dispute or crime kept within the *tsu* does not arouse comment and criticism from neighbors, so that the prestige of the group does not suffer. Furthermore, justice within the *tsu* can take into account all the circumstances, since the families are well known to each other, and thus is more reliable than that to be obtained from the authorities and, moreover, it involves no expenses. That such an appeal to the *tsu* is still preferred today is seen from the example of the *tsu* of Wu in Kiangsu (App. 45). A case may be taken to the authorities only after all efforts of the *tsu* leaders to bring about a peaceful settlement have failed.

When the offender will not accept the sentence of the *tsu* leaders, the *tsu* as a whole could indict him in front of the local authorities (App. 31). The same is true when a person tries to obtain his ends by wiles (App. 17). Also when a *tsu* member has been wronged by an outsider, his group will support him as a body (App. 25, 28, 32). In the *tsu* of Chou the common funds may be used by the representatives of the group to defend the rights of its members, but individuals may not use it in lawsuits for their own benefit (App. 39). Furthermore, when a culprit repents, his *tsu* will often vouch for his good conduct and thus have his crime condoned (App. 45; App. 40). Cases of manslaughter are usually left to the authorities to decide (as in App. 27) though the *tsu* may add to the punishment by "expelling" the individual (as in App. 30). The sentence "Single individuals must not be implicated" is significant, as it shows that the kinship group recognizes itself responsible for the conduct and protection of its members (App. 17). Further, the *tsu* undertakes to detect and punish, or hand over to the authorities members who enter outlaw organizations endangering the state. (Thus App. 29; many other *tsu* regulations contain a similar provision.)

Because of this assistance to the administration by the *tsu* in checking crime Ch'ên Hung-mao (1696-1771) advocates that the position of the *tsu* leaders be strengthened by government recognition of their responsibilities. Looking at it from the point of view of the state he lists as the most important offenses to be judged by the head of the *tsu* and the *fang*: (a) unfilial and unbrotherly behavior; (b) robbery; (c) fights. The head of the *fang* are to make an effort first to persuade the culprit to mend his ways, failing which he is to be reprimanded by the head of the *tsu* in front of the whole group in the ancestral hall. Only if he persists in his misdemeanor is he to be handed over to the authorities. If such a person should attempt to revenge himself on the head of the *tsu* he is to be punished twice as heavily by the authorities. Further the *tsu* leaders are to be encouraged to arbitrate and settle amicably disputes concerning the sale of land, and of grave land, to compose family quarrels, and also to act on behalf of the *tsu* in the event of difficulties arising with some other group. Moreover, the head of the *tsu* may ask a reward from the government for exemplary behavior among its members.⁸ Actually

the suggestions of this author are based on the functioning of the *tsu* at his time and he only demanded official sanction for a well-working system of social control.

As has been pointed out, the old-time county magistrate, as well as the present-day judge, was very glad to leave some judiciary matters in the hands of the *tsu* leaders. In the bitter struggle between father and son in Family E because of the latter's inheritance from his adoptive father, the *tsu* elders did not effectively intervene, so that much money was spent and much ill feeling developed between the two parties. This family is living in Southern Shantung in a community where there is no more institutionalized *tsu* leadership. But the final verdict of the modern judge is still to ask the elders of the *tsu* to organize an arbitration committee and to effect a settlement satisfactory to all. To this day Informant E bears a grudge against the elders of the *tsu* for standing by and watching the struggle between father and son.

In the many genealogies consulted there is only one case of a *tsu* which obtained government sanction for its rules regarding the punishment of offenses. "The rules of the *tsung* of Li have been presented to the government and the county magistrate has been instructed to take cognizance of them. In case of violation the head of the *tsu* is to petition the magistrate to punish the offender."⁹ We shall see that registration with the government is necessary as a safeguard for *tsu* property against its own members. But it seems that such a re-enforcement was not considered essential for the validity of rules of moral behavior in the *tsu*.

The *tsu* organization also facilitates taxation. In practically all genealogies there are injunctions reminding the members that taxes must be paid at the proper time. In the *tsu* of Mêng in Mien-ch'êng, Hupei, the taxes on land are to be paid at the fixed dates set by the government: one-half in the fourth month, and the rest in the tenth month. "The head of the *tsu* should advise the head of each *fang* some time beforehand, so that they may tell all the families in their *fang* to pay taxes early and not to remain in arrears, which would subject them to dunning."¹⁰ While there is little doubt that the *tsu* functionaries are helpful to the tax collector, it is also true that the system is not without its drawbacks. The *tsu* in Fukien are very powerful. Here the collection of the tax in kind within a *tsu* is undertaken by one family of importance. There is a register of names, of course, but "some with much land pay few taxes, some with little land pay high taxes, some owning no land have to pay taxes, while others having land do not have to pay. In some cases the farming families are not even existing any more, but the names are just carried on (in the register) and the *tsu* as a group together pays for them in order to avoid quarrels."¹¹

JURISDICTION IN THE *TSU*

A trial by the *tsu* leaders always takes place in the ancestral hall. It is a serious occasion to "open the ancestral hall" for a criminal case (App. 13). Once taken to the ancestral hall a case cannot be taken back, but must be submitted to

the *tsu* leaders for a decision. Before such a step is taken individual arbitrators are appealed to to effect a satisfactory arrangement. Within every *tsu* there are such persons who take pride in straightening out difficulties in families and between individuals. A modern arrangement by the *tsu* of Wu in Kiangsu demands that, whenever a quarrel becomes serious, the *tsu* leaders and other honest members organize a Committee for the Arbitration between Relatives and effect a settlement. If they fail, the record of the proceedings is to be handed to the court authorities for their information (App. 45). This *tsu* also demands that "those in the *tsu* who make a contract or other document concerning inheritance, the division of property or affairs of public benefit, should write out a second copy to be signed like the original. This is to be kept in the *tsu* to facilitate future investigations."¹²

In most *tsu* the head of the *fang* attempts to settle amicably the quarrel or dispute in his line, failing which he brings the case to the attention of the head of the *tsu* (as in App. 11). In one *tsu* the person offended is allowed to beat the drum of the ancestral hall, similar to the provision in imperial times that the case of a plaintiff who beats the drum at the door of the office of the county magistrate must be heard at once. The person in charge of the ancestral hall then convenes all the members of the *tsu* to the home of the culprit to hear the case adjudicated (App. 31).

The discussion concerning the offense is led by the *tsu* leaders and elders, with younger members following suit (App. 25). Since the *shên-shih* are conversant with books they are better able to interpret the law and the traditional regulations concerning behavior, and they form an informal council to assist the head of the *tsu* in the judiciary proceedings. After everyone has had a chance to voice his opinions the head of the *tsu* pronounces the sentence or suggests a settlement to the dispute (App. 10 and 13). An example of such a meeting is given by Wong Hui-tsu. Once when he was dangerously sick as a child his mother dreamed that his ancestors were holding a conference. She saw them assembled in a hall and many voices intermingled as if they were discussing something informally. After a while someone said in a loud voice: "Are we to pardon the many or the few?" A man in a red hat, with high cheekbones, long whiskers and a beard, knelt down in front of the head of the group who was seated facing the door (no doubt the first ancestor) saying: "We should leave La-chi." La-chi was Hui-tsu's baby-name. Hui-tsu's father and grandfather then came forward to kowtow to the first ancestor. Some others kowtowed to them weeping, the father and grandfather returning the kowtow with a *tsò-yí*. The man in the red hat left. The next day the crisis of Hui-tsu's sickness had passed, but within two years all the other male members of the extended family had died, leaving Hui-tsu as the only descendant from his great-grandfather down.¹³ The ancestors evidently had been given the choice by Heaven to spare either Hui-tsu or his cousins. In the dream of the fond mother they decide in his favor. His father thanks the early ancestor for the life

of his son, while his own brothers begged his pardon weeping—they had not shown much kindness to the widow and her child.

Some *tsu* regulations emphatically demand a public discussion of criminal offenses. "Should there be some in the *tsu* who commit such unlawful and unjust acts as being disobedient and unfilial, deceiving their elders or oppressing the young, quarrelling for wealth or litigating in court, getting drunk or gambling, the *tsu* is to be convened in the ancestral hall and deliberate publicly the right and wrong (of such conduct)."¹⁴

While in many well-organized *tsu* the list of offenses is drawn up as a warning, the official trial by the *tsu* head is of rare occurrence. The description of the *tsu* of Hu gives only one case within the last generation (App. 13). This is in good part because most quarrels and offenses are compounded informally by unofficial arbitrators. The formal debate by the whole *tsu* and the final verdict by the formal head are very humiliating and very serious (see App. 10). We see from App. 12 that, even in a part of Kiangsu where the influence of the *tsu* has been fast disappearing under the impact of industrialization, the admonitions by the head of the *tsu* cause apprehension among the younger members.

TYPES OF OFFENSES JUDGED IN THE *TSU*

As the *li-chiao* forms the ethical basis for the integrity of the family, and as all disputes and offenses within the *tsu* concern relatives, the judgment of *tsu* leaders is based on the dictates of *li*.

The *tsu* regulations often provide a rather long list of offenses that are to be dealt with in the ancestral hall. Most frequently mentioned are unfilial conduct, lawless behavior, as theft and robbery, and disputes regarding property. Offenses against elders are often coupled with oppression of the young, the *tsu* acting as a protector of the rights of the very old and the very young against aggression or selfishness on the part of the middle-aged. Often the list extends much further, as we see from App. 30; in this set of regulations the first article quotes the law, the rest are offenses that disturb family solidarity or cause its decay.

The following list of the Liu *tsu* in Kiangsu is even more detailed:

1. It is forbidden to stay with prostitutes.
2. It is forbidden to gamble.
3. It is forbidden to quarrel with relatives about wealth and to stir up resentment.
4. It is forbidden to allow young people to seek amusement outside the home.
5. It is forbidden to acquire many secondary wives and servant girls when one has a son.
6. It is forbidden to acquire only the best in clothing, food and other articles.
7. It is forbidden to women and girls to burn incense in monasteries, or to visit convents for their enjoyment. (These were widespread pastimes in the early Ch'ing period.)

8. It is forbidden to enter into matrimonial alliances with the families of high officials, or to borrow money for a wedding.
9. It is forbidden to keep songster boys and crafty servants.
10. It is forbidden to buy antiques and curiosities.
11. It is forbidden to become drunk and engage in quarrels.
12. It is forbidden to build artificial mountains and pavilions in the garden.
13. It is forbidden to become so fond of a landscape as to leave the coffin of the parents unburied for a long time.
14. It is forbidden to engage in alchemy and thus ruin one's life and one's family.
15. It is forbidden to enjoy a living without useful work.
16. It is forbidden to persist obstinately in one's intentions without regard for kind words of advice.¹⁵

All these injunctions but the last are directed at curbing the desire for conspicuous display and the tendency to vice in the upper class. The regulations of other *tsu* are not as specific, but most of them carry a warning against drinking, gambling and the frequenting of prostitutes (as App. 40, App. 30 and 32). Since a man given to vice squanders his fortune and neglects his studies, he not only ruins his *chia*, but becomes a liability to his *tsu*.

Many of the rules regarding punishment evidently refer to conditions pertaining to one locality or period, or try to curb a tendency within the particular *tsu*. Thus the *tsu* of Tsêng in Hunan is much concerned about female infanticide, providing both punishment for well-to-do families who indulge in such a practice and relief for poor families to whom a daughter is born (App. 11). From the regulations of two other *tsu* in the same neighborhood we know that female infanticide was practiced here during the last century at least.¹⁶ The *tsu* of T'an in Kiangsi had had trouble about graveyards. Because of the belief that the prosperity of the sons depends in part on the nature of the resting-place of the parents (see Chapter on Ancestor Veneration), some members tried to bury their dead secretly in the land of more fortunate relatives, going so far as to place the coffins on top of those of other families. Thus many of them became involved in lawsuits. The *tsu* then decided that at every burial two neighbors must be present at witnesses,¹⁷ at the same time providing a fine for transgressors (App. 31). Similar in nature are the frequent injunctions to bury a parent early, or prohibitions regarding the use of the ancestral hall, for storage, for sunning grain, etc. (as in App. 31). Article 7 in App. 30 doubtless resulted from a debate concerning a specific case. The view that lack of offspring is an offense against the parents goes back to an oft-quoted statement by Mencius that of three kinds of unfilial conduct, the worst is the failure to bring forth a son.¹⁸ This reflects the general anxiety of being discontinued (see chapter on Ancestor Veneration). The *tsu* in this case exonerates a man from such an involuntary crime. Thus the *tsu* regulations are adapted to the special circumstances of one locality or one *tsu*, and do not treat crimes in such a general-

ized way as the law does. They are directed against certain kinds of behavior which are thought inimical to the good of the group and arise out of the discussion of specific cases.

Certain *tsu* make very specific disciplinary rules, as those given above and in App. 30 and 31, while others are more general as in App. 26, 28 and 29. It may perhaps be surmised that in the case of the former there have been more quarrels and offenses in the *tsu*, necessitating a detailed set of rules, while in the latter case the ancestral hall was appealed to infrequently because of fewer dissensions in the group. We may perhaps be justified in stating that the more conflict within the *tsu*, the more clear-cut the written regulations; the more harmony, the more general the wording of the traditional injunctions.

The kind of punishment meted out by the *tsu* head naturally varies with the seriousness and the type of offense, and the traditional rules of the *tsu*. For a comparatively light offense the head of the *tsu* may be content with a severe admonition. More severe ones are punished by strokes of bamboo or wooden boards (see App. 31). In the *tsu* of Ch'ü these boards, when not in use, were hung in the Small Meeting-hall in the back of the ancestral hall (App. 10). A fine may be imposed, the money being added to the common fund (App. 31).

The most severe and most effective punishment, however, is expulsion from the *tsu*. This does not mean any harm to body or property, in fact, it is never stated that the person is to be ostracized by all his relatives, but he loses his membership in the *tsu* and all privileges attached. He may not join in the ancestral rites nor enjoy material benefits from the common fund. After his death his ancestral tablet can not be admitted into the ancestral hall, nor his name appear in the genealogy. He is shut out from the community of the living and of the dead members of the *tsu*. The *tsu* of I in Hupei distinguishes the complete expulsion from omission from the genealogy, the former being the punishment for the more severe crimes. Apparently the simple omission does not carry with it the complete excommunication of the individual (App. 30, also App. 13 and 29). The *tsu* of Chao in Wusih demands that perpetrators of the ten big offenses and rebels should have their names expunged from the genealogy to show that they are ousted from the *tsu*. If a person has committed a not very serious crime, or has been guilty of only some misbehavior, a square under his name is to mark him off as an offender.¹⁹ Expulsion is sometimes termed "driving out," as in the regulations of the *tsu* of Chang in Kwangtung and Kiangsu which say: "If there are among the descendants some who become bandits and low class people, or who behave unethically and corrupt the morals (of others), the *tsu* is to assemble to drive them out immediately, so that in life and death he may not enter the ancestral hall, and his name is to be excised from the genealogy."²⁰

Yet the verdict of the *tsu* may not always coincide with that of the judge in court. Should a person be punished severely by the authorities on a false accusa-

tion, his name is still to be recorded in the genealogy (App. 33), rectifying the error made by the official.

We have seen that often near relatives are held responsible for each other's conduct. Most of the regulations concerning the punishment of offenses in the *tsu* speak of the person of the offender only, but sometimes the father is held accountable for the misbehavior of his sons (as in App. 30). The *tsu* of Li in Anhui punishes fathers and elder brothers when their sons and younger brothers have gone astray. Should the former condone the misbehavior of the young people they are themselves to be punished twice as heavily.²¹ Now, when a man is expelled from the ancestral hall, he loses the right to take part in the ancestral rites, and to receive them after his death, but this does not mean that his whole line is cut adrift. In the genealogy are marked the names of his parents, his wife and his son, for "crime is not visited upon a person's wife and child" (App. 33). Or, as another genealogy puts it, it is not right that a whole branch of the *tsu* be "annihilated" because of one man.²²

If, after the punishment, the culprit changes his ways for the better, most *tsu* will accept him again. For example, in the *tsu* of Fan in Szechuan a member given to vice and crime is ousted from membership in the ancestral hall. Persistence in such behavior forces the group to hand over the individual to the authorities. But if he then repents and signs a document promising to reform his conduct the leaders of the *tsu* will vouch for him and obtain his freedom. Thus he regains his membership in the *tsu* (App. 40). The *tsu* of Wu emphasized, in 1933, that any repentant offender was to be given a chance to pursue a new life, provided he could persuade the head of his *tsu* and two other men of good standing to believe in his sincerity and vouch for his conduct (App. 45). Furthermore, an expelled individual may be restored to membership status if his descendants are capable and virtuous (App. 30).²³ Or, where the parents or grandparents of an offender have conferred benefits on the *tsu* the culprit may be forgiven for their sake, depending on the consultation between the elders, the editor of the genealogy and the head of the *tsu* (App. 30). Such a mercy clause leaves a loophole for the descendants of wealthy and socially prominent members, as the latter are best able to confer material benefits on the *tsu*. The *tsu* of Chao in Wusih affords such an example. There the privilege of entering the ancestral tablets into the ancestral hall had been used to obtain contributions in funds and land, a method found effective in 1725 in building up the ritual land and resorted to again in 1757 when the ancestral hall needed rebuilding. Later, when it was decided that this could not continue, the old rule that descendants who had led an iniquitous life were to be barred from the ancestral hall was reaffirmed (App. 48; see also App. 53).

We have seen that the *tsu* has taken over in good part the judiciary functions of the state with the approval of the latter. In some *tsu* regulations the law of the land is quoted on one point or another. Observers have often remarked that in

China the modern law code, drawn up in conformance with the principles of law in Western countries, has not taken effect. The law may be in existence on paper, but its actual application must await the approval of society. We have in the *tsu* of Wu in Wu-chin a good example of how civil law can become effective only when the kinship group accepts it without reservations. This *tsu* agrees to abide by the modern code, yet draws up its own specific rules, providing that quarrels be arbitrated by its own members. The regulations are particularly explicit with regard to the inheritance by daughters, an innovation of the law code (App. 45). While the law is acknowledged, institutionalized social control is still retained in large measure by the *tsu* and kept out of the hands of the administration. Under such a system of autonomy socio-political reforms cannot be effected entirely from above, but must be accepted by individual groups.

THE COMMON PROPERTY OF THE TSU

THE ANCESTRAL HALL

THE property owned in common by the *tsu* may take several forms. The ancestral hall is far more than a place to deposit the tablets of the dead and to hold the rites once or twice a year. Here take place important meetings of *tsu* leaders; here are judged the disputes and crimes of *tsu* members; here are registered all members of the group, past and present. Instituted and maintained by the group, a share of it is owned by each member, as expressed in the regulations of the *tsu* of Fan in Szechuan (App. 40). In fact, the ancestral hall may be said to symbolize the corporate personality of the *tsu* and its authority over living members, as shown by the usage of the word; a case of filial impiety is said to be judged by the "ancestral hall," rather than by the *tsu* leaders. When the ancestral hall of the *tsu* of Hu in Hui-chou was completed, a number of neighboring "ancestral halls" sent gifts with their congratulations (App. 53). In this same *tsu*, when the person responsible for the construction of the ancestral hall insisted that, according to precedent, the tablets of those whose families had failed to contribute to the building expenses be denied entrance, a distant relative asked "the ancestral hall" to have mercy on the poor families who could not afford to give contributions (App. 53). Hence, generations are born and pass away, but the ancestral hall remains the symbol of the *tsu* as long as it is functioning.

The ancestral hall is always an impressive building constructed with the best materials. Sometimes it is built for the *tsu* by one or several well-to-do members, as happened twice in the *tsu* of Li in Chên-chiang, Kiangsu (App. 49). In other cases, money is collected from all the membership to defray the expenses. In the *tsu* of Chao in Kiangsu, for example, members of the *tsu* were induced to make contributions toward the building of the new ancestral hall by allowing their tablets to receive the ritual offerings along with the other important ancestors (App. 48). The best example of the financing of the actual construction work of the ancestral hall is seen in App. 53. As we learn from App. 13, this *tsu* had a good number of its members engaged in business in various cities. So a plan was devised to levy individual contributions (similar to the head tax), labor contributions (like the labor service demanded by the government) and business contributions (analogous to a business tax). When after eight years the building was still unfinished, the assessments were increased very much, but only through great efforts on the part of Hu Shan, the most active promoter of the project, was the work completed. Here, too, an honorary place in the ancestral hall is offered as an inducement: those who

paid extra amounts were to be associated in receiving the rites with those ancestors known for their virtue, and with those who had exerted themselves in the service of the ancestral hall (App. 53). At a time of greater prosperity the *tsu* might have had less difficulties in building up the ancestral hall, but in this case the work was begun soon after the end of the Tai-p'ing Uprising (180-4) when Anhui had been devastated and the population decimated. Another reason is the insistence of Hu Shan that the new building must match the old one, as a matter of prestige. We are given some indications of the size of the building: The central hall alone is a square room 60 Chinese feet (19.20m) either way, with beams 12 feet (3.84m) in circumference. For the woodwork the best trees of that region—which is fairly deforested, were selected and transported to the village by the members of the *tsu* (App. 53). As mentioned, any *tsu* with a large and prosperous membership will endeavor to build such an impressive ancestral hall, and the branches will often institute separate ancestral halls for their lines.

RITUAL LAND (*CHI-T'EN*)

Whereas the rites in the home are defrayed by the individual families, those in the ancestral hall of the *tsu* are sustained by regular funds. For this purpose land is contributed by wealthy members, the income serving to defray the expenses of the ancestral sacrifices, the subsequent commensal banquet, repairs of the ancestral hall, care for the grave-yards, etc.

In well-to-do families part of an inheritance is often set aside to increase the funds for the ancestral ritual. Thus, in the *tsu* of Chao in Kiangsu 100 *mu* out of a property of 3000 *mu* was turned into ritual land after the death of the owner (App. 2). In App. 50 we have another example of sons who set their entire inheritance aside as ritual land, as soon as they were in a position to provide for their individual families, thus fulfilling a desire of their father's. The *tsu* of Ch'eng in Kiangsu decrees that one-twentieth of the landed property of all wealthy families and one-tenth of every inheritance be contributed to the ancestral hall.¹ In Kwangtung the ritual land is accumulated by each generation contributing a certain amount to the common property, such land becoming known as the fifth generation land, seventh generation land, etc.² The *tsu* of Yang in Wusih expects those of its members who obtain an official position to contribute in some measure to the common holdings (App. 41). The *tsu* of Chou in the same neighborhood offers an inducement to contributors: two-tenths of the income from the fields contributed are returned to the donor's family to carry on the rites for him forever. In this way his tablet will not be discarded after four generations (App. 39). We have seen that the *tsu* of Chao allowed tablets to be entered in the ancestral hall in return for contributions of ritual land (App. 48), a device that seems to have worked well as they used it again when rebuilding their ancestral hall. Similarly the *tsu* of Ch'ên in Hupei demands that irrigated land of a size bearing five bushels of rice is to be

contributed to the ritual land whenever a tablet is entered in the ancestral hall. As an alternative 85,000 cash had to be paid, a considerable sum. It is stipulated that the land must be of good quality.³ In 1797 the widow of T'ao Teh-wên in Chekiang, wishing to install her husband's and father-in-law's tablets in the ancestral hall, gave three *mon* of land to the *tsu*. Then, on a day chosen by her the gentry and the head of the *tsu*, as well as the head of her husband's branch, welcomed the two tablets into the ancestral hall.⁴

Another way of increasing the land is by placing the surplus income with a store or pawn shop to bear interest. Fang Pao (1668-1749), in ordering his sons to pursue such a policy, calculated that the interest would allow them to double their ritual land every ten years (App. 47). The *tsu* of Ch'êng also decrees that, after the expenses of the ancestral ritual, the taxes on the ritual land and the repairs of the ancestral hall have all been paid for, the remainder is to be given to some wealthy family to be lent out, so that more ritual land may be acquired with the interest.⁵ The first ancestor of the *tsu* of Li near Nanking had moved south from Kui-tê in Honan around 1128, but their ancestral hall was built only in 1575. In 1775 some members jointly contributed 4200 cash which was loaned out on interest, and with the income land was bought. This, added to the accumulated rent from the land, allowed more property to be acquired, until the *tsu* owned 50 *mon* of ritual land. This *tsu* was composed mainly of merchants, but they were not a very large or wealthy group.⁶ Thus, the land is regarded as a permanent investment which guarantees a certain income to the *tsu*, while loaning out the surplus income on interest is an expedient for increasing the common property.

The ancestral hall may have still other kinds of income. Thus the *tsu* of Yang in Hupei regards the territory in and around the village of Yang-chia-ho as *tsu* property. All residents have to pay 200 cash "foundation money" per room every year. The land may be sold, but only to a member of the local branch of the *tsu* of Yang.⁷ Such rules are very rare. Further, of course, there are the fines from offenders, which are added to the common fund. Thus, in 1720 a member of the *tsu* of Li in Anhui was fined for burying someone in the grave-yard of the ancestors against *tsu* regulations. He was forced to give some cultivated and some wooded land to the ancestral hall in order to redeem himself.⁸

Periodic additions to the ritual land are necessary, for with the passing of the generations not only the increase in the number of ancestors, but also the growth of the *tsu* in membership and prestige demand a greater and greater outlay. Thus the *tsu* has to encourage frequent endowments by well-to-do members.

The common land, spoken of as the "property of the ancestral hall," must not be lost. Wang Hui-tsu expresses sharp criticism of those people who for some reason or other abolish their ritual land, for after so doing the individual families in the *tsu* will have to take turns in performing the ritual for the ancestors. But as the fortunes of these families may vary, it will happen that some of the occasions are not properly observed, and that the descendants will be looking on while the

souls of the ancestors are starving.⁹ The author experienced the loss of such land in his own family. They were not well-to-do people, but his grandfather had been able to set aside three *mon* of land, the income from which was used for defraying the cost of the rites for the great-grandfather until Wang's father died and the father's younger brother obtained control of the family property. Three years later this man sold the ritual land, for he needed money to carry on a life of dissipation. The buyer feared that at some future date Wang Hui-tsu, fourteen years old at the time, might refuse to recognize the right of his uncle to sell their common property. So he came to ask for the signature of the boy. But the mother forbade him to agree to such a demand, and even the argument of the man that the deal had been concluded anyhow, and that through stubbornness they would only lose their share in the proceeds had no effect. The widow told him with great dignity: "Should my son be left as the only one to carry on the line of the ancestors, we shall be glad to continue the sacrifices forever." She would have nothing to do with the transaction. Her words implied a grave condemnation of her husband's brother, and her son notes with apparent satisfaction that his father's brothers all either died without sons, or their progeny was scattered. Only his branch, that faithfully carried on the rites for the ancestors, prospered in their old home.¹⁰

On occasion a *tsu* will by common consent divide the land. Thus an ancestor of the *tsu* of Yü in Kiangsi had donated some land for the expenses of the ancestral rites at the winter solstice. This *tsu* had been divided into five *fang* which administered the land in turn. But in time those families nearest to the ancestral hall did not care for the ritual, so those living farther away were dissatisfied and the land was split into five portions, each *fang* taking one.¹¹ Also, the ritual land may be legitimately used for the benefit of the *tsu* in time of distress. Thus, during the T'ai-p'ing Uprising in the 1850's the *tsu* of Yang in Wusih was hard hit. Their fields were devastated and the membership dispersed. So they mortgaged the land belonging to their ancestral hall and lent the money out to members who were in need.¹² When the *tsu* of Li near Nanking needed money to print its genealogy some of its ritual land was mortgaged.¹³ In Kwangtung the *tsu* is enlarged to include all those of the same name within one region, pooling their resources for aggressive and defensive purposes. When in the summer of 1944 the Japanese advanced to take the districts of T'ai-shan and San-shui, the county of K'ai-p'ing was menaced. The Chinese army had retreated, but the two *tsu* of Szü-t'u and Kuan organized themselves to fight for their homes. In the *tsu* of Szü-t'u, the wealthy merchants and the landlords, realizing the great danger that threatened everyone, contributed all they had to buy munitions. As that was insufficient the ritual land and other common property was auctioned off.¹⁴

In *tsu* which count many wealthy men among their members the returns from the ritual land will often exceed the needs of the ancestral hall and the payment of the taxes. This surplus is used in different ways.

The most common use is assistance to poor *tsu* members and provisions for

the education of the young. This may vary from occasional subsidies to a well-organized system of social welfare work. Thus Fang Pao (1668-1749) did not need the land he inherited, so he turned it into ritual land, directing that two-tenths of the income were to be used for the costs of the ancestral ritual, and the rest was to serve those of his and his brother's descendants who needed financial help for weddings, funerals, sickness, etc. (App. 47).

In some cases the assistance given applies to the peculiar circumstances of the immediate neighborhood or of the particular *tsu*. Thus the *tsu* of Tsêng prohibits the infanticide of girls and gives subsidies for each girl born to the poorer families (App. 11). As genealogies of other *tsu* in the same part of Hunan contain a similar prohibition, although unaccompanied by any measures offering financial assistance, we know that this custom must have been prevalent in that province during the last dynasty.¹⁵

The income of the ancestral hall may serve other purposes. Some *tsu* allow the funds of the ancestral hall to be used for lawsuits of members who are defending their claims, provided that the consent of the group is obtained (App. 39). It may go much farther than that. In the early part of the Ch'ing dynasty the *tsu* of Kiangsi became united into *hsing*, or groups of common surname, with joint ancestral halls. Hence, the income from the ritual land was pooled and became a fund which "lawmongers and rascals" in the *tsu* could draw upon to further any lawsuit they were pleased to start (App. 61). Since the common ancestral halls were set up in the county seat, the seat of the *fu* (a larger territorial division), and in the provincial capital, these people, while prosecuting their claims or when appealing to a higher judiciary authority, always made use of the funds of these ancestral halls and lived in their buildings.¹⁶ These two accounts are given by an administrator of the province at the time when these "lawmongers and rascals" made the maintenance of law and order extremely difficult.

In Kwangtung and Fukien the ritual land of each *tsu* is very extensive. The considerable sums left over, after the expenses for the ritual are defrayed, are used for educational purposes and, on occasion, to finance the not infrequent fights between *tsu*. In former times not only the weapons were purchased, but the fighters had to be promised rewards in case they were wounded, and pensions for their families in case they were killed. Further, the government investigating the bloodshed would surely demand that the culprits be handed out, and anyone willing to give himself up on behalf of the *tsu* had to be compensated (App. 60). This account dates from 1766. As we shall see, *tsu* rivalry is strong in this region and cohesion for aggressive purposes still depends on the ability of the group to obtain the financial support of well-to-do members.

The funds of the ancestral hall may be used for loans to members of the *tsu*, though this seems to be true only of a few places, like Kwangtung.¹⁷ Occasionally provisions are made to subsidize small businesses run by members.

When a *tsu* grows large and forms a number of branches in several localities,

a single ancestral hall with ritual land attached is not satisfactory. Often a member of a branch will give land to serve the rites of the first ancestor of this group. As mentioned, strongly developed *tsu* often institute ancestral halls for separate branches. Thus in the *tsu* of Yang in Hupei the 9th and 10th branches (*fên*) had instituted separate ritual land and, when undertaking some project, always had ample funds on hand. In 1828 several members of the 8th branch began canvassing their own relatives and 93 contributors were found, each giving 100 cash, which, placed out at interest, accumulated to 100,000 cash by 1841. More people joined in with contributions. In this way a common fund was created and all contributors received the privilege of sending in the tablet of one ancestor each into the ancestral hall.¹⁸ The *tsu* of Yang in Wusih has a main ancestral hall (*ta-tsung-tz'ü*) in the district city where the first ancestor is honored. Two of its branches have separate ancestral halls, where four generations of their ancestors are honored, each with ritual land attached to it, 350 *mon* and 220 *mon* respectively. Besides defraying the expenses of the ancestral ritual the money was used for subsidizing good students in these two branches.¹⁹ App. 56 is an example of an inheritance set aside to serve the ancestral rites of one branch of the *tsu*. In Kwangtung, when a group secedes from the mother village and founds a village elsewhere, at first it takes part in the rites at the original ancestral hall. In time as this group develops, it will build up its own (App. 19). Thus, the establishment of new ancestral halls and separate ritual land is associated with the growth and dispersal of the *tsu*.

The land may be given to the common ancestral hall, and administered by the manager appointed by the *tsu*, but with the proceeds serving one branch. Thus a *fang* of the *tsu* of T'ao in K'uai-chi Chekiang, in 1796 gave 4.8 *mon* of land to the ancestral hall, and it was agreed that every year before the Festival of Clear-and-Brightness this *fang* was to obtain 3000 cash to defray the expenses of the rites at the grave of its first ancestor, the rest of the income becoming the property of the ancestral hall.²⁰

In relation to separate ancestral halls the question arises: when a group or an individual family moves out to settle elsewhere, does it still have a share in the property of the ancestral hall? It seems that in most cases it continues to send representatives to the old hall for the ancestral rites and therefore is entitled to share in the income, until it has been able to build an ancestral hall of its own and to institute its own ritual land. For example, in the genealogy of the *tsu* aggregate of Chien in Kwangtung this rule is laid down: "A branch that has separated from the main body and moved away, cannot interfere with the property of the ancestral hall of the parent *tsu*, just as the parent *tsu* cannot interfere with the property of the emigrating group."²¹ Thus, the ancestral hall with its attached property serves a localized unit of the *tsu*. On the other hand we have seen that when *tsu* join together to form an aggregate, an ancestral hall for the common ancestor is put up as a means towards further solidarity.

Sometimes land may be set aside for the rites of a particular ancestor. The

second generation ancestor (about 1365) of the *tsu* of T'ao in Chekiang was buried far from the home village in the district of Lin-hai. Because of the distance his grave was visited only at long intervals and twice the grave-yard had been appropriated by strangers. Finally one member instituted 8 *mou* of ritual land, with the income from which the grave rites were to be performed every three years.²²

The size of the ritual land owned by individual *tsu* varies considerably. It may be little more than one *mou*. An upper limit can hardly be determined, since there it merges with the *i-l'ien*. The *tsu* of Wang in Wu-hsien, Kiangsu, owns some 120 *mou* of ritual land apportioned among four ancestral halls.²³ The *tsu* of Chao in the same area has set aside 131.81 *mou* of its communal holdings for ritual land, which, however, serves also the purposes of subsidies for education and relief of the poor (App. 11). These are well-organized *tsu*, but their ritual holdings are slight compared with those in Kwangtung. In the district of Wusih, Kiangsu, for example, all the common property of the *tsu* at present constitutes only 8 per cent of the cultivated area.²⁴ This includes the *i-l'ien* without a doubt. The percentage in Kwangtung is much larger. In Southwest Kwangtung the *tsu* lands form 23% of all cultivated land. In North Kwangtung they form 25% of the cultivated land. In East Kwangtung they form 35% of the cultivated land. In Middle South Kwangtung they form 40% of the cultivated land. In the Delta of the Pearl River one-half of the cultivated land belongs to the *tsu*.²⁵ It should be noted that these communal holdings include both ritual land and "school-land."

We have no comparative material from other areas. However, we know of Ting-hsien in Hopei that there the holdings of 162 *tsu* studied vary in value from less than \$500 to \$4000 North Chinese currency. The annual expenditures of the *tsu* for ritual purposes here vary from less than \$10 to \$60 and more, with the greatest number spending from \$10 to \$30. This is not a large sum compared with the average expenditures of a peasant family of \$242 per year,²⁶ but then, as mentioned, this is an area where the *tsu* is little developed.

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL-LAND ESTABLISHED BY THE *TSU*

We have seen that to improve its social standing and to deal with the authorities the *tsu* needs men who have received a formal education. A great deal of prestige is reflected on the whole group by a member who attains high official positions or one who becomes prominent as a scholar: if he becomes a well-known authority in research on the classics, an historian, a poet, an expert in literary criticism, etc., or, in modern times, a scientist, professional man or educator of note. Members who are not able to spend many years at their studies also benefit from a formal education by being enabled to read documents and to keep up a correspondence, vital assets in any walk of life. Hence, the *tsu* is interested in providing an education for as large a proportion of its young men as possible, and in promoting and encouraging them to the best of its ability.

Throughout the imperial period primary education was the affair of the individual social unit. Men of means engaged tutors to teach their sons, and families of lesser means often sent their sons to the tutorial school of some better-off relative for a small fee. Individuals with leisure and inclination sometimes offered to teach the boys in their relationship group, and many *tsu* established schools where children of members received an education without tuition expenses.

These tutorial schools usually prepared the pupils for the first civil examination at the county seat. Later they could attend classes either given by some private individual, in or out of the *tsu*, or at the county school established by the local government, in order to prepare for the next higher examinations. Scholars desirous of promoting education in their *tsu* sometimes provided for the further education of the young men either by teaching themselves or by paying the expenses of such a school. The *i-hsüeh*, or "school for common welfare," as a rule is not restricted to members of one *tsu*, but where the *tsu* is well integrated this is often the case in practice. Thus in 1729 Chu Shih established an *i-hsüeh* for his *tsu* in Kao-an, Kiangsi. He gave enough land to yield 60 bushels of rice, which, added to the interest from the ritual land, served to maintain the school. The latter was in the nature of a secondary institution, taking pupils over twelve years of age, whose families were poor, and who already had received an elementary training. Children of exceptional intelligence were admitted free of charge.²⁷ The founder of the *i-t'ien* of the *tsu* of Chao also instituted a school for relatives who could not afford the tuition, making it a condition that every pupil work hard (App. 37). The *tsu* of Wang in Chên-chiang, Kiangsu, not only instituted a school for the *tsu* but demanded that all bright boys be sent there, threatening each father with a fine of one ounce of silver if he kept the child from studying. Should another person try to prevent the school attendance of the young he also was to be punished with twenty strokes.²⁸ The *i-chuang* of the *tsu* of Li in Chekiang constituted a combination of a school for the boys and an ideal resort for the "gentry" in the *tsu* to enjoy their literary pastimes (App. 46). The leaders of the *tsu* of Li in Shao-yang, Hunan, anxious to promote the education of the bright youth among their members, established a school with contributions from the wealthy in the group.²⁹

To maintain the *tsu* school and also to subsidize members who continued their education beyond it, many *tsu* instituted separate land, called *hsüeh-t'ien*—"school-land," paralleling that established by the government. For under the empire, as well as the Republic, the local administration owned a certain amount of land for the purpose of providing funds for schools and of subsidizing good students. This system of *tsu* "school-land" is particularly prevalent in Kwangtung and Fukien. Thus, in the county of Chien-yang in Fukien, it was common to set aside a part of every inheritance, the proceeds from the land defraying the tuition and other expenses of boys who were studying.³⁰

The *tsu* of Ch'ên in Huang-kang, Hupei, instituted school-land which was contributed by a number of members, each giving 5 *mou*. The proceeds were used

to reward the students who successfully passed the civil examination. When they had to travel far to take the examinations for the higher degrees, their expenses on the way were paid out of the same funds.³¹ Further, this *tsu* maintained in the district city a building to house its young members during the examination period. Rules were enacted to prevent the boys from taking advantage of their temporary freedom from home discipline whether to amuse themselves, or to bring friends in to live with them. However, the use of the house was not free to all members: those who stayed there for their examination were expected to contribute 1,000 cash for its maintenance.³²

The *tsu* may also help the scholars of note among them in their work, many important books and collections having been published by the private schools or ancestral halls of the authors' groups.³³ On the other hand, their knowledge has to be put at the disposal of the *tsu* when a new genealogy or a collection of the writings of *tsu* members is to be compiled. Many a scholar has given his library to the ancestral hall to be used by students. For example, Sun Hsing-yen (1753-1818), the great authority on the classics and Chinese history, belonged to a family of little means. Yet his father had begun a collection of books, which was greatly enlarged by the son and finally was given to the ancestral hall of the *tsu* of Sun.³⁴

I-T'IENT AND I-CHUANG

The *i-t'ien*, or "land for common welfare," like the *chi-t'ien*, is often spoken of as belonging to the ancestors, and as both may be used for the welfare of the *tsu* members, the difference is one of administration rather than of function. *I-t'ien*, though still associated with the ancestral hall, is placed under a separate manager under the direct supervision of the *tsu* leaders. When it is large enough to warrant the establishment of a separate granary and office it becomes an *i-chuang*, an "estate for common welfare." But the *i-chuang* may include ritual land. Thus the founder of the *tsu* of Chao in Kiangsu set aside some 131 *mou* out of 1023 for ancestral rites, and his regulations require all the members of the *tsu* who visit the *i-chuang* for one purpose or another to pay their respects to the ancestors there (App. 37). Thus the communal property never lacks a reference to the common ancestors.

The difference between the function of the ritual land and that of the *i-t'ien* is best expressed by Yü Yüeh (1821-1906): "The purpose of establishing *i-t'ien* is to protect the descendants from want, and *chi-t'ien* is set up with the aim of continuing to serve the ancestors."³⁵ Though one is used to keep alive a tie to the past and the other to provide for future generations, the two are not unrelated in their aims. To cite another writer: "When I lead the descendants of my great-great-grandfather in the ritual, there is no doubt that my great-great-grandfather is present. . . . Now, if my great-great-grandfather were as if present, and among his descendants there were some suffering from hunger, or who are grown up and

yet cannot marry, or who cannot bury the dead . . . if I, while performing the ritual for my great-great-grandfather, cannot relieve his descendants; if I, while performing the ritual for my great-grandfather, cannot relieve his descendants; if I while performing the ritual for my first ancestor, cannot relieve his descendants; then the souls of the ancestors in Heaven will they not be indignant?"³⁶ Thus true reverence for the ancestors includes concern for their descendants, that is, for all the members of one's *tsu*. It has always been recognized that social welfare is a means of maintaining the solidarity of the *tsu*, and that this is part of the duty of the descendant who remembers his ancestors (App. 34).

The founder of the first *i-t'ien* was Fan Chung-yen, a scholar and official of the early part of the Sung dynasty (988-1052). This was before Chu Hsi and other scholars led the movement strengthening the family ties, and loyalty to the patrilineal relationship group was not particularly emphasized at the time. Fan's mother had remarried and her boy was brought up in the family of the stepfather in K'ai-fêng. He was treated as a son of the family and took examinations using their surname. It was only when he was twenty years old that one day, when he was remonstrating with his stepbrothers about their spendthrift ways, he was told it was no concern of his and thus learned the truth. He immediately left K'ai-fêng without taking leave and traveled south to visit his father's *tsu* in Soochow. In later years he planned to do something for his whole relationship group, and, at the end of his life, gave all the land acquired during a successful administrative and military career as *i-t'ien* to be held in common by the *tsu*.³⁷ It will be seen from the regulations (App. 36) that he did not restrict the benefits of the common land to the distressed within his *tsu*. He may have held the hope that his example would be followed by other members in the *tsu*, so that money made individually might be pooled for the common benefit.

Ever since Fan Chung-yen established the first *i-chuang* social-minded writers have extolled the benefits of the *i-t'ien* and have lauded those who contributed their land. Yü Yüeh was one of those who were active in promoting the institution of the *i-t'ien*. In an essay recording the beginnings of the *i-t'ien* of the *tsu* of Yü in Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu, he praises the founder Yü Wên highly. Living in retirement and refusing official positions, this man led a simple life, refusing to seek the friendship of the rich and the powerful, and made the establishment of an *i-chuang* of 550 *mu* his lifework.³⁸

The dangers to society arising out of the excessive accumulation of private property in the hands of a few were well realized by many scholars. Chu Shih (1666-1736) warns those who pass their lives in extravagance. He tells them that the grain stored in their granaries is equivalent to so much "bone and skin, blood and marrow of dead people." By giving up their jewelry, rich banquets, useless contributions to monks and nuns, as well as sacrifices to various divinities, they might keep alive many people. "To take the various materials that could

keep alive people and waste them for non-essential purposes, and to consider this fashionable, is as if the gathering of the skin, bones, blood and marrow of several hundred persons was so considered." Such extravagance at the cost of other people's lives is sure to bring disaster on the individual, his sons and grandsons. Thus, to store up grain for one's own use "is not merely stacking up the skin, bones and blood and marrow of starving people, but is really stacking up misfortune for one's self, one's sons and grandsons."³⁹ This is strong language by one of the leading scholars of the day.

From the point of view of the socio-economic value of communal property the words of Lu Chiu-kao (1732-1794) are most significant. He advises the government to encourage the establishment of *i-t'ien* in the larger villages: "In times of peace the rich mostly gather in the cities and the people in the villages are most often poor. Furthermore, if the village is large it will contain many families of traditional high standing (*shih-chia*) and powerful *tsu*. The things grown by Heaven and produced by Earth in any one region are sufficient only for that one region. If some are living in abundance, the others have to live in scarcity. Since the rich vie with each other in the luxury of their houses, food and clothing, thus increasing their extravagance, the goods are all the more insufficient and the poor are all the poorer. So the establishment of *i-t'ien* in the larger villages should not be delayed."⁴⁰ He was not the only one who realized the necessity for establishing *i-t'ien*. A number of scholars and officials of the early Ch'ing dynasty, realizing that under a system of private ownership and non-limited accumulation of property the subsistence of a good part of the population becomes extremely precarious, campaigned vigorously for the establishment of *i-t'ien*.

Social welfare as practiced by the *tsu* paralleled that of government agencies, and to a considerable extent, made the latter unnecessary. We have the opinion of one writer concerning the inefficiency of relief as administered by the administration, which has almost a modern sound (App. 35). It does not refer to the *i-t'ien* itself, but to the public granaries which served a similar purpose. His criticism of government-administered granaries no doubt was true and must have prompted the leaders of many *tsu* to take social welfare into their own hands.

As might be expected, the government welcomed the establishment of *i-t'ien*, since in this way it was relieved of the care for the destitute in many areas. Like all people of outstanding virtue, the founders of *i-t'ien* and *i-chuang* were given rewards. Thus when Chao Tung-hui had established the *i-chuang* of his *tsu* (for rules see App. 37), his sons reported the amount of land contributed by him and the regulations governing its use to the government, and petitioned for money to erect an arch in his honor and also for a banner with a laudatory inscription. This was approved by the head of the Board of Education and Religion.⁴¹ We shall see that the administration was also responsible for upholding the rules of each *tsu* concerning their *i-t'ien*. Though taxes on *i-t'ien*, as on all other common land, had to be paid, the property was exempt from labor service.⁴²

Though the *i-t'ien* and *i-chuang* have a more limited distribution than ritual land and are most prevalent in Kiangsu and Chekiang, they represent the most efficient way of controlling and using the common property for the benefit of the *tsu*. If the *i-t'ien* is to bring in enough to keep all destitute members of the *tsu* from want it has to be of considerable size. From the material on hand it appears that *i-t'ien* and *i-chuang* may be anything from 350 to 4000 *mou* in area. To be able to distribute benefits of certain types to all the indigent in the *tsu*, the size of the *i-t'ien* or *i-chuang* has to be calculated beforehand. We see from App. 38 that it is not always easy for the founder to attain his goal.

Furthermore, while there is a certain compulsion to institute ritual land, the establishment of *i-t'ien* is always a voluntary contribution. In making this gift to the *tsu* the donor has to consider his heirs who may regard the land as their rightful inheritance, as the following story shows. Wang Jui-chou was a public-spirited man who had donated an ancestral hall and a common grave-yard to his *tsu*. He had four sons, two of whom were transferred to his dead brother to be his heirs, inheriting 150 *mou* of land from the latter. One day he was talking to his sons about the desirability of establishing some *i-t'ien*, and the difficulties of putting such a plan into effect. One of the boys who were heirs to his brother suggested that the 150 *mou* of their inheritance might be put to such a use. The father was delighted and ordered that 20 *mou* be set aside for defraying the expenses of the regular ritual for his brother, another 20 *mou* to be kept out as the extra portion of the eldest grandson, and 10 *mou* to be used to pay the dowry of his brother's daughter. The 100 *mou* that were left were then converted into *i-t'ien*, the benefits from which were to be divided between the two branches descending from him and his brother. At the same time he divided his own property among his four sons, who appeared very happy about the arrangement.⁴³

The genealogy of the *tsu* of Wang in Wu-hsien contains an essay urging the establishment of *i-t'ien*. It is stated herein that many families in the neighborhood had set up such land. The author cites as an example the *tsu* of Ts'ai on Lake T'ai, which had allotted a small amount of land for this purpose at first, but within thirty years was able to increase it to 1500 *mou* through contributions. The *tsu* of Wang took up the suggestion with enthusiasm, it seems, for after a comparatively short time, by 1847, its members had contributed 815 *mou*.⁴⁴

Sometimes a man sets his heart on giving sufficient *i-t'ien* to his *tsu*, but does not succeed in doing so during his lifetime. It often takes another generation to complete the work, as we see from App. 45, where the sons fulfill the hope of their fathers to see an *i-chuang* established. The *i-t'ien* of the *tsu* of Hsieh in Wusih was instituted only by the efforts of four generations.⁴⁵

The assistance given to destitute *tsu* members out of the income of the *i-t'ien* (or *i-chuang*) and the ritual land may be of different kinds.

A subsistence allowance. Fan Chung-yen had established an *i-chuang* of sufficient size to provide all members of the *tsu*, including one servant per family, an

allowance of one *shêng* or 0.0655 liter, per day (App. 36). In all later cases the allowance is handed out only to persons in extreme need. The *i-t'ien* of the *tsu* of Wang in Hopei provides one *shêng* per day for the destitute among the descendants of the close relatives of the founder, the very poor to be helped first. In his time, this measure was equal to 1.035 liter. His regulations are specific that the very poor are to be helped first (App. 38). It may be asked: how far does one *shêng* of grain go towards the maintenance of an individual? Hung Liang-chi (1746-1809) states that on the average one *shêng* of rice is sufficient food for one person per day.⁴⁶ Actually, however, no one consumes this amount of starch. In Shantung one *tou* (or ten *shêng*) of grain is considered enough for the subsistence of one person per month, if rations of the old, the young and the middle-ages are averaged. Hung's figure no doubt includes the cost of other foodstuffs calculated in terms of rice, rice being even richer in starch than the grains grown in North China. Thus, in the *tsu* of Wang those who received the monthly allowance were able to exchange up to two-thirds of it for foods other than starch.

The subsistence allowance for the aged, widows and orphans in the *tsu* of Yang in Wusih is closer to the needs of a person in terms of starch food alone, each being allotted one bushel (or 100 *shêng*) per year.

Since many *tsu* are of considerable size already at the time when the *i-t'ien* is instituted, the income is sometimes insufficient to provide equally for all the members who are in economic difficulties. Thus Wang Chih decrees that only those relatives descended from the same great-great-grandfather, that is, his mourning relatives, who are in need, are to receive regular allotments of grain (App. 38). In the *tsu* of Chao, whose *i-chuang* is far larger, the members of the founder's half of the *tsu* were entitled to a larger allotment than the rest (App. 37). We see that this was remedied when the other branch instituted its own communal land to provide for its members. The same is true of the *tsu* of Wang in Ch'ang-shu (App. 44 and 57).

In most cases, as in that of the *tsu* of Fan in Szechuan, only widows, orphans, widowers, childless people and the disabled are assisted in this way (App. 40), the first two being frequently singled out for special consideration (App. 41; App. 58). As the remarriage of a widow is considered deplorable, a pension is an inducement for her to stay with the relatives of her husband. But the subsistence allowance is also a means to succour the daughters of the *tsu* who might find themselves in distress. Usually the provision is added that the allowance does not extend to their husbands or children, since they ought to be taken care of by their own families (App. 58; App. 44). Yet Fang Pao allows the children of his daughter, when in distress, to be cared for out of the funds from the ritual land he instituted (App. 47). The *tsu* of Chao makes ample provisions for the maintenance and education of orphans who have no near relative to bring them up. The regulations also safeguard the child against cupidity on the part of his guardian (App. 37; also

App. 58). The *i-chuang* of the *tsu* of Wang even provides a wet-nurse for motherless infants of poor men (App. 46).

Clothing. This is provided by some *i-chuang*, as, for example, the *tsu* of Fan in Soochow (App. 36). The *tsu* of Yang in Chiang-yin and the *tsu* of Wang in Ch'ang-shu also provide old persons and orphans among the indigent with clothing (App. 58; App. 44; see also App. 37 and App. 47).

Financial Assistance for Weddings and Funerals. Financial assistance for weddings and funerals is very often the first type of relief provided when there is a surplus from the ritual land. Weddings establish relationships with other *tsu* and their celebration in proper style affects the prestige of the family and all their relatives. The same is true of funerals, for they are occasions when all neighbors and relatives-in-law gather at the home of the bereaved. Where the provisions of the *i-t'ien* do not exist, the circle of mourning relatives are considered responsible for financial assistance of this sort. This is a recognized custom, violated only at the penalty of incurring social censure. The *tsu* of I demands that its members be responsible for the weddings and funerals of their poorer mourning relatives, or be omitted from the genealogy (App. 30). However, such a threat has not been met with in regulations of other *tsu*. The obligation may also be placed on the shoulders of well-to-do *tsu* members. Thus, the genealogy of the *tsu* of Hsü reads: "If there should be in our *tsu* destitute people who are unable to hold weddings and funerals, or if some person should meet with misfortune, being poor and alone, and have no one to turn to for help, the head of the *tsu* is permitted to send out a list to solicit contributions. The money is to be sent to the head of the *tsu* at the appointed time, in order that it may be handed in turn to the individual in question. Should anyone have no regard for the common ties within the *tsu* and show himself stingy, he is, aside from the contribution, to be fined three-tenths of an cunce of silver, which is to serve for the relief of the distressed in the *tsu*."⁴⁷ The assistance provided by the funds of the *i-t'ien* or *i-chuang* similarly makes sure that a member in difficult straits does not stand alone at the time of the "great events" of his life.

Subsidies for Education. Subsidies for the education of the young are among the first items to be cared for by any surplus of communal funds. This kind of assistance has been touched upon in connection with the school land.

While the school for common welfare is rarely restricted to one *tsu*, the subsidies to good students are among the chief services provided by the communal land. Looking at the regulations of the first *i-chuang* instituted by Fan Chung-yen, it is rather striking that in his first set of rules drawn up in 1050 no such provisions were made. When his son reorganized the institution he established a school for *tsu* members and set aside money for assisting persons who were studying (App. 36). Compared with this short paragraph, the regulations of *i-t'ien* and *i-chuang* of later periods are far more elaborate and detailed. An example of this is seen in App. 40.

The detailed enumeration of subsidies and rewards for good students in App. 37 and 45 had to be left out for reasons of space. In both cases young men are encouraged to attain degree after degree by passing the civil examinations. In the regulations of the *tsu* of Yang in Chiang-yin, drawn up during the Republic, the subsidies have been adjusted to the modern school system by identifying the graduation from primary and secondary schools with degrees received by passing civil examinations under the imperial regime (App. 58). The same is true of the *tsu* of Wu in Wu-chin (App. 45). The *tsu* of Fan in Szechuan, which counted few officials among its members, even gives rewards to those who acquire rank with money, a common practice in the Ch'ing dynasty, and those who are called into civil service (App. 40). The giving of "congratulatory gifts" out of the funds of the ancestral hall to men who had achieved an official position was common in Kwangtung and many other parts. In the genealogy of the Chien the *tsu* is warned not to use too much of the income from the ritual land for this purpose, for the lucky person is entitled to a salary and should support the ancestral hall rather than receive support from it.⁴⁸

These incentives were useful in promoting hard-working young men to positions in the administration, thus increasing the prestige of their group. An example of the increase of educated members in a well-organized *tsu* is given in the following table compiled from material in the genealogy of the *tsu* of Yan in Wusih:

<i>Generation</i>	<i>No. of members who passed examinations</i>	<i>Generation</i>	<i>No. of members who passed examinations</i>
5	1	14	23
6	3	15	36
7	7	16	32
8	11	17	46
9	5	18	38
10	8	19	34
11	9	20	19
12	19	21	5
13	20		

The date of the fifth generation is around 1405, that of the twenty-first generation around 1855, the sixteen generations thus occupying 450 years. The ritual land of the *tsu* was accumulated over a number of generations, amounting to 300 *mou* in 1676, at the time of the thirteenth generation.⁴⁹ There thus seems to be a direct relationship between the growth of common property and the number of educated men in the *tsu*.

Even when the *tsu* owns no common property, the relatives consider it imperative to promote the education of their boys. The village of Taitou is situated in an area of little *tsu* development, and no common land had been instituted.

Yet in one *tsu* the members raised enough funds among them to see the most promising of their young men through school and college, and later to send him to the U.S. to finish his studies. But they expected to be reimbursed once he had attained a good position in government service.⁵⁰

Shelter. The section on "land and other property of the *i-chuang*" of the *tsu* of Fan in Soochow, gives the impression that from the first the buildings of the *i-chuang* were all placed at the disposal of *tsu* members. But as in time the families making use of this privilege tended to regard their residence as their own property, later amendments to the regulations circumscribe their rights and define their duties. Nevertheless, 150 years after the founding of the *i-chuang* the communal residence had fallen into the hands of strangers. After the property had been restored with great difficulty in 1210 the descendants of the founder emphasized that the role of the buildings was to serve as a gathering place for the *tsu* and prohibited the use of the grounds for erecting private dwellings, which had been expressly permitted in 1098 A.D. (App. 36).

The *tsu* of Fan in Szechuan did not institute an *i-chuang* comparable to that of the other *tsu* in Soochow, but the ancestral hall was open to residence by its members (App. 40). This group was still small, less than two hundred in membership, and only six generations old, when their genealogy was printed. So the demand for shelter cannot have been great. Where the number of destitute people is large the ancestral hall or *i-chuang* would be insufficient to serve them. Moreover, once some families have taken up their residence on the communal property, they will tend to stay as long as possible, and gradually come to regard the place as their own. Thus, the *tsu* of Yang in Wusih points out that the ancestral hall is common property and forbids its members to borrow the buildings, as experience had shown that they would not be returned (App. 41).

In some cases the *i-chuang*, as well as the ancestral halls, is regarded as a meeting-place of the members. This is self-understood in the case of the ancestral hall, since the leaders and the *tsu* meet there to discuss important issues. It is less often true of the *i-chuang*, but we have an example of such a use in the *tsu* of Liën in Shao-hsing, which designates the buildings of the *i-chuang* as a meeting-place for the *tsu* (App. 54).

From scattered evidence we learn that the buildings or the yard of the ancestral hall often served *tsu* members for various purposes, even against the wishes of the *tsu* leaders. For example, certain members of the *tsu* of Yang used the ancestral hall, probably empty rooms that formed part of it, for storing agricultural implements (App. 41). In the *tsu* of T'an some individuals used the ancestral hall for sunning rice and hemp until the *tsu* prohibited it (App. 31). Thus the respect for the ancestral hall did not prevent the farmer from making practical use of the premises.

The impression may have been gained from the above that the *tsu* is a self-

contained and self-centered group providing for its own welfare only. We see from App. 13 and App. 53 that the *tsu* in any one region are bound together by close ties and are usually on the best terms with each other. So some of them make the benefits of the common land available to relatives-in-law and neighbors, though not to the same extent as to their own members. Thus one of the *i-chuang* of the *tsu* of Wang in Wu-hsien provides winter clothing for the needy in the neighborhood of the founder's home (App. 57). The *tsu* of Fan in Soochow and the *tsu* of Shêng in Wu-hsien provide assistance to neighbors and relatives-in-law (App. 36; App. 56), while the *tsu* of Liên in Shao-hsing does not discriminate at all in handing out assistance from their *i-chuang* (App. 54).

THE COMMON GRANARY (*I-TS'ANG*)

Common granaries are instituted by some *tsu* to serve as a storehouse for grain contributed by wealthy members to be lent out to distressed members in times of famine. This institution dates back to 593 and has been operated more commonly on a communal basis, several villages often pooling their resources. In this form it has been warmly advocated by scholars like Chu Hsi, who recognized its stabilizing influence on the rural economy.

To cite a few examples of common granaries run by individual *tsu*; the *tsu* of Chu in Ching-hsien, Anhui, set up such a granary in 1787. This was a large *tsu* with 100,000 members, even sub-divisions numbering 10,000 souls. In all 10,000 ounces of silver and 300 *mon* of land were contributed. As the land was increased, the savings of the *i-ts'ang* grew. Whereas in the early years some 56,000 cash were handed out per year, the amount grew to 1,400,000 cash in later years.⁵¹ This system of giving cash is rather unusual. In most cases the grain is stored till prices go up in summer. Then the poorer members are allowed to borrow as much as they need with the provision that they return the loan with a slight interest in the fall (See App. 13). In famine years the debt is forgiven in part or in full according to the seriousness of the situation.⁵² The *tsu* of Wei in Hupei followed this system in dealing out grain from their granary instituted in 1894. Twenty years later the genealogy stated that the granary had proved of the greatest benefit to the indigent in the *tsu*.⁵³

Instead of lending out grain the granary may be used to balance prices in the neighborhood, selling when the price goes up beyond a certain point, and buying up when it falls too low. To do so the grain contributed has to be of considerable amounts. Ch'ên Li-hsüan had set up 2,000 *mon* of land as ritual land in his village in Fukien, the proceeds from which were used for social welfare within the *tsu*. Later his son gave 2,000 *mon* to be established as *i-t'ien* and to be managed by his *tsu*. The 2,000 *mon* his father had given were converted into ritual land. Then a granary was built where Ch'ên stored the 3,000 bushels of rice from the ritual fields which he had saved. This granary he then turned over to the neighbor-

hood to serve for balancing prices. The donor also gave 400 *mou* of land to replenish the granary should its stores become depleted. The Ch'ên family did not go without reward; a *ts'ü-t'ang* was built next to the granary to commemorate the ancestors of Ch'ên Li-hsüan.⁵⁴ This example shows that property set up for the benefit of one *tsu* may be given to the larger community if this is conducive to greater economic security for all.

COMMON GRAVE-YARDS (*I-CHUNG*)

This institution, too, is often not confined to one *tsu*, but a charitable person may give a few *mou* of land for the burial of individuals who either have no family to care for them, or whose families are too poor to provide a grave-yard for themselves. For example, when the Yangtze River rises suddenly the torrents frequently wash down corpses. Thus during the Ch'ien-lung period (1736-1795) the magistrates of Ch'i-mên in Anhui and other districts along that river had many bodies and coffins salvaged. As there were very many of these, a Mr. Kao gave some of his own land to bury them in, which land became known as the *i-chung* of Kao.⁵⁵

In most *tsu* the graveyard of the earlier ancestors is used by their descendants. When these become filled some person will contribute some land to serve as a new grave-yard. The *tsu* of Fan in Szechuan set aside two *mou* for the burial of those members who could not afford to acquire land for this purpose (App. 40). The *tsu* of Wang in Ch'ang-shu instituted a grave-yard for their own members and another for the destitute in the neighborhood. The donor further contributed some extra land to defray the expenses of the ritual for the dead, and for paying the tax, as no arable land was free from taxes in old China (App. 57). We have seen that the funeral expenses of poor members are often paid for out of the common fund. The *tsu* of Chao even furnishes the stone for inscribing the name of the dead (App. 37).

We have seen that the ancestral rites at the grave are essential to the happiness of the soul in the other world; so those *tsu* who have a manager for their common land often require him to perform the annual ceremony and to take care of the graves of poor members (App. 37; App. 58). This is another step towards assuring the emotional security of the low income group.

MANAGEMENT OF THE COMMON PROPERTY

It has been seen in a previous chapter that the head of the *tsu* mainly has restrictive and coercive functions, but rarely has a hand in the administration of the common property. However, he has control over the person who is in charge of this work. In the *tsu* of Hu in T'ung-ch'êng, Anhui, the head of the *tsu*, together with the heads of the branches, here called *ku*, decided economic matters.⁵⁶ In the *tsu* of Li in Lu-chou, Anhui, the head of the *tsu*, in conjunction with the heads of the *fang* or the *tsung-tzû*, took charge of transactions concerning grave-land, at

a time when the *tsu* was buying up the land which held the ancestral graves of individual members.⁵⁷ These examples show that the head of the *tsu* at times is directly concerned with the control over the economic resources of the group, but such instances are rare.

Management in turn by representatives of several *fang* is a frequent practice. This system emphasizes the equality of all the *fang* in sharing in the administration.

This system of management by rotation probably is derived from the pattern of the *chia*.

In the *tsu* of Informant T, in Chekiang, the arrangements for the annual rites at the ancestral graves, which here are of the utmost importance, were undertaken in rotation by the families of the descendants. T's father had one brother, so each was responsible for the sacrifices for their father every other year. Their grandfather had had three sons, so T's father and uncle took turns with their cousins in performing the rites for him. Thus the further removed from the ancestor, the less often one is obliged to visit his grave. The costs were defrayed by the income from the ritual land, so the person responsible for the rites was also given the administration of the land instituted for the particular ancestor for that year. As the descendants increase generation by generation, and as the representatives from the various families have to be entertained with a feast at the ancestral hall after the rites at the grave, the costs increase with the distance from the ancestor. This is the reason for the need to add from time to time to the ritual land of remote ancestors.

According to Informant B, in his part of the country brothers sometimes will set apart some of their inheritance to be cultivated in turn (App. 3). Hua Tsung-wei instructed his sons to take turns visiting the graves of the ancestors (see Ancestor Veneration). In Mei-hsien, Kwangtung, the land set aside for the ancestral ritual is commonly worked in rotation by the families of the descendants.⁵⁸ In such a case, after the expenses of the ancestral ritual, etc., have been defrayed, the surplus is usually kept by the brother who has charge of the land for that year. In this way we have to understand the arrangement in Kwangtung where the surplus of the extensive common property becomes the income of the person who administers it.⁵⁹

Such a system of rotation of duties is in use when the *tsu* owns no common land, as in the case in the *tsu* of Chang in Wusih which demands that the costs of the ancestral ritual be borne by contributions from every male in the group. The preparations for these semi-annual occasions are placed in turn in the hands of the representatives of each branch. Should the funds prove inadequate, the manager has to make it up from his own pocket.⁶⁰ The same is true of the *tsu* aggregate of Wei in Hunan which had built a "family temple" as a rallying place for its twelve branches. Each branch contributed a certain amount of money for the ancestral rites, and sent representatives who took turns in arranging the ceremony. When the funds were

insufficient the yearly functionary paid for the extra amount needed.⁶¹ This rule was designed to prevent the manager from making too great demands on the resources of the group.

In the *tsu* of Tsêng the heads of the *fang*, who are chosen by their branches, divide the duties of management of the property among themselves (App. 11). Usually each head of a *fang* holds the position for one year. Well-organized *tsu* prefer to have the *fang* choose a representative each, called *ssü-shih*—"director of the affairs," who take turns in the same way as the heads of the *fang* in other groups. Such a system exists, for example, in the *tsu* of Chou in Ch'ang-shu (App. 39).

Where the property is large a paid overseer, who can be investigated and dismissed when abuses become evident, and who devotes his whole time to his responsibilities, is preferred. We see from App. 40 that the *tsu* of Fan used to entrust their property to the representatives of the six *fang* in turn, but as the group grew they changed to the system of an appointed manager selected from among the membership, for such a person can be carefully scrutinized with regard to qualifications. The *tsu* of Chou makes careful stipulations regarding the character of the individual chosen by the subdivisions, and provides for his ouster in case of inability or abuse (App. 39).

When the property is considerable one person is not sufficient for the management, as in the *tsu* of Chou (App. 39). In the *tsu* of Li in Hunan the property of the "ancestral hall" is entrusted to one or two "heads of the ancestral hall," or *tz'ü-chang*, who keeps accounts, and four "managers of the ancestral hall," or *tz'ü-ching*, who handle the incoming and outgoing money.⁶² It has been mentioned that the *i-t'ien* and the *i-chuang* always are administered by an appointed manager. Here, too, assistants are provided to effect a division of duties and powers (see App. 57 and App. 37).

In App. 53 we learn how difficult it sometimes is to keep intact the common property. The land allotted to the branch of the *tsu* of Li to pay for the expenses of their ancestral ritual was not divided among the member families, but by devious ways found its way into the hand of outsiders, and the proceeds of the ancestral hall was divided. The ritual land and the *i-t'ien* (see below) of the *tsu* of Yeh in Anhui, too, though small in size, was sold by selfish members.⁶³

The manager chosen evidently must be an honest, capable man. The provision that he be wealthy is often added as a safeguard for the *tsu*. Should any money be embezzled it is possible to force him to repay it; a poor man might be punished, but the lost funds could not be recovered. As mentioned, when common land is managed informally by the families of several brothers, no accounting is demanded, and any surplus becomes the income of the person in charge, a system which appears to hold to some extent also where the *tsu* has not instituted formal controls. If the original custom was that the manager of the common property

should receive the surplus income, the habit might persist as abuse long after the *tsu* had determined that the money should serve the common benefit. The *tsu* of T'an in Kiangsi demands that the managers of the ancestral hall and the common granary be wealthy (App. 15). The contention that a poor man in such a position might leave the taxes unpaid and provide inadequate offerings to the ancestors probably is founded on actual experience. Once a person gets hold of the funds of the *tsu* he may want to make the most out of this opportunity for his own benefit. Without taking the money outright, he could use it in some speculation and thus lose it. Hence, there is more confidence in a wealthy man, who can be forced to make good the embezzled property. The same stipulation is made by the *tsu* of Li in Hêng-yang (Hunan), the *tsu* of Hu in T'ung-ch'êng, the *tsu* of Ch'in in Huang-kang (Hupei), the *tsu* of Chao in Ch'ang-shu (App. 37) and others. In Kwangtung it is the "rich and reliable," the "learned and rational" in the strongest branches of the *tsu* who are elected as manager of the *tsu* income.⁶⁴ Since these are all well-developed *tsu* in which the *shên-shih* play an important part, these rules and the arguments advanced to justify them reflect the point of view of the men with property and education who decide the affairs of the group. The small farmer or tenant in the *tsu* might have a different opinion if consulted. In fact, it should be stated that there are many *tsu* who demanded only honesty and ability as qualifications for the candidate, disregarding his economic status.

Most well-organized *tsu* provide checks either on the paid functionary or on the rotating managers to prevent mishandling of the funds. The manager is required to keep a careful account of all income and expenditures, which has to be shown in full to the leaders of the *tsu* and to his successor at the end of the term. The *tsu* of Chou in Ch'ang-shu requires the account to be posted in the ancestral hall to be verified by all members. Further, the accounts are checked by several older men in the presence of the outgoing and the succeeding managers as well as by the head of the *tsu* (App. 39; also App. 42). Such a public report by the manager of the accounts during his term of office is a general rule.⁶⁵ In the *tsu* of Fan in Szechuan the outgoing manager has to affirm by oath the truth of the record of his term in office. Moreover, before a man can receive the position he must give security (App. 40), that is, he must be a man of some means. The *tsu* of Wang also demands a detailed account of the manager of its *i-chuang* at the end of his term. Here the succeeding manager and the head of the group controlling the *i-chuang* both keep copies of the accounts for future reference (App. 57; see also App. 37).

Drastic action is threatened against the dishonest manager in almost any set of regulations. Thus, the *tsu* of Li in Hunan demands that, on the detection of abuse, the culprit be fined twice the amount embezzled, besides being dismissed from office immediately.⁶⁶ The regulations of the *i-chuang* of the *tsu* of Fan in Soochow afford a good example of the control over the manager that was perfected over the

years, at the same time protecting the manager against unwarranted attacks by *tsu* members. The son of the founder had appealed to the authorities to safeguard the common property by giving the regulations of the *i-chuang* the backing of the law. Hence, in the amendment of 1083 the provision is made that the manager may be indicted in front of the local authorities for embezzlement, while in the next amendment, in 1095, he is given the right to seek redress from calumnies by denouncing his enemies to the administration. However, these measures were not effective in stopping all abuses, as we learn from the amendment in 1210. By this time the first authority to investigate such misconduct on the part of the manager was the "Seat of Wên-chêng," no doubt the head of the *tsu*. Only after he had been tried and fined by this individual, was the culprit handed over to the court of the county administrator for punishment. But individual members were forbidden to denounce the manager directly to the local administration (App. 36), which is in line with the gradual taking over of judiciary powers by the *tsu*. It is significant that the regulations of other *tsu*, all of a much later date, often lack a reference to the handing over of the dishonest manager to the justice of the state. Evidently the *tsu* had become strong enough to deal with the misuse of its common property.

The manager in every case is a member of the *tsu*, while his assistant may be an outsider (App. 37). The responsibility is placed on a man whom the judiciary powers of the *tsu* can reach without recourse to a higher authority.

Under the imperial regime most *i-chuang* and *i-t'ien* used to be registered with the administration, which also received a set of regulations concerning its management. It appears that in the beginning the Board of Education and Religion was the first to be notified. Thus, when a member of the *tsu* of Chang established some *i-t'ien* in 1732, he applied for approval from this Board. The land was duly registered and the list giving the size and location of the fields was sent to the Board of Justice. Later an account was entered into the local history.⁶⁷ Usually the founder of such common land received a laudatory commendation from the Board of Education and Religion. In the last century the procedure was to notify the Board of Population and Revenue, so that they might investigate and then draw up a list of the lands contributed.⁶⁸ The descendants were given a document stating the general location of the *i-t'ien* and other property, and the circumstances of its establishment. This document was inscribed on stone. Such a device was first used by the son of Fan Chung-yen, when rebuilding his father's *i-chuang*. Stone is indestructible, and the incised characters cannot be tampered with as easily as a written document. However, the document itself has to be shown in court during litigations concerning the common land. Furthermore, the members of the *tsu* have to hand in a detailed list of the location and size of each piece of land, as well as a copy of the regulations governing its use.⁶⁹ *I-t'ien* continued to be registered with the government under the Republic. Thus, when a branch of the *tsu* of Wang

in Ch'ang-shu instituted the Ch'ing-yüan I-chuang in 1917 (App. 44) they registered the property with the county administration, and received a commendation from the governor of the province.⁷⁰

The laws regarding the inviolability of the common property are reviewed in the following excerpt from a document from the Provincial Treasurer to the county administration, communicating an order from the emperor. "In case unworthy descendants want an opportunity to sell it privately, and other rich families or powerful *tsu* want to buy (this property), where the property exceeds 50 *mon*, the offenders are to be punished, according to the precedent concerning the illegal sale of the ancestral grave land, by banishment to the border regions. The land is to be restored and the price confiscated by the government. If the land is less than the above amount, the crime is to be punished according to the law concerning the illegal sale of public land. . . . If *i-t'ien* is sold illegally, it is also punished, according to precedent, with 100 strokes and three years of forced labor. The persons who intend to buy the land are to receive the same punishment."⁷¹

The first part of the above declaration evidently is concerned with ritual land, yet the registration of such land (see App. 46) seems to be less frequent than that of *i-t'ien*. By thus registering the common property with the government, the *tsu* prevents it from reverting to private property. By taking notice of the corporate property the administration gives it its stamp of approval, and, by accepting the regulations of the *tsu*, gives the assurance that they are to be followed when a dispute is taken to the authorities. However, it will be noticed that there was no law specifically applying to ritual land, which demonstrates that such cases are rarely taken to court.

In some cases the control over the management is vested in the descendants of the founder, naturally only in the case of *i-t'ien* of large size contributed by a single person. In the *tsu* of Wang in Hopei the administration of the property is left entirely in the hands of the *chia* descended from the founder. Instead of the usual subdivision into *fang* the founder has used his own *chia* as a center and has classified the relatives as close, near and distant kin, each of these groups electing one or two persons to assist the head of the *chia* in his duties. But the question of who is to be aided and how much, is left to deliberations by the *tsu* (App. 38).

In the *tsu* of Wang and the *tsu* of Chao in Kiangsu the manager of the *i-chuang* is picked and controlled by the descendants of the founder. The words "our *t'ang*," recurring in the regulations of these two *tsu*, need an explanation. The two *i-chuang* of the *tsu* of Wang are named after the Huai-i-t'ang and the Ch'ing-yüan-t'ang, while the seal of the *i-chuang* of the *tsu* of Chao names the common land after the K'ai-ch'ing-t'ang. Literally, the word *t'ang* means "hall." It is a general practice in China that a family or a *tsu* adopt a *t'ang* name, which becomes a symbol for its residence and, by extension, for the group itself. The word "our" implies either that the *t'ang* referred to belongs to the founder or to his branch, for in the two examples the common land served primarily one section

of the *tsu*. It is more likely that the former is the case, and that "our *t'ang*" is a synonym for the elders of the founder's family (App. 37 and 57).

Thus, in both the *tsu* of Wang and Chao the manager is directly responsible to the descendants of the founder, who also work out the budget with him. In the *tsu* of Wang he must even be chosen from among the direct descendants. Evidently the founder tries to strengthen the position of his own line of descent by giving them control over the benefits derived from the land he contributes. It should be remarked that even the descendants of the founder cannot impeach the manager without the collaboration of the head of the *tsu* (App. 37; App. 57).

These two *tsu* belong to the same district. In the regulations of other *tsu* the emphasis is far more on control by the whole *tsu*, although the descendants are sometimes given some special privilege, as in the *tsu* of Yang in Chiang-yin, where they lead the *tsu* in accusing the manager when his dishonesty has been detected (App. 58).

In the "Committee for the Administration of the Property of the Ancestral Hall" of the *tsu* of Wu in Wu-chin we have an interesting example of the modernization of social organization. The roles are diversified and responsibilities divided among a larger number of persons than in former times. It is to be noted that aside from the three auditors who check the work of the accountant, there are five inspectors charged with the over-all supervision of all the activities of the Committee. Standing above the Committee they have the right to dissolve and reorganize it. Such a formal check by appointed functionaries is absent in the old form of organization and parallels the institution of the Control Yuan in the central government derived from the system of Imperial censors who had the right to impeach any executive in the government (App. 45). This is the only instance known of a *tsu* that has adapted itself to modern life without losing its effectiveness.

TSU INSTITUTIONS AND THE COMMON WELFARE

From the above it can be seen that a well-organized *tsu* is capable of taking care of the welfare of its members without touching the institution of private property. Fan Chung-yen, the founder of the *i-chuang*, expressed the concern of the group for all its members very well: "My *tsu* in Wu (that is, Soochow) is very numerous. Though some of them are closely, and others more distantly related to me, as the ancestors view them, they are all descendants, and there is no close and distant relationship. How can I not alleviate their hunger and cold? Furthermore, since the time of the ancestors virtue (merit) has been accumulated for more than one hundred years. It (that is, the reward for virtue) did not appear until my person, in that I was able to achieve a high official position. If, become rich and prominent, I do not relieve my *tsu*, what face do I have to enter the ancestral temple?"⁷² Reference to the ancestors places all members on an equal footing in receiving benefits from the common property.

It might be argued that the economic assistance afforded by the *i-t'ien* must often have led a considerable number of people to pass their time in idleness. The men who promoted and founded the common property were well aware of this possibility. Nearly all the regulations regarding *i-t'ien* contain injunctions to the manager of the communal property to be careful in issuing relief only to the deserving poor. The reminders of founders that acceptance of the subsidies is really humiliating (App. 34 and 38) are the most convincing proof that they hoped the *i-t'ien* would not kill the initiative for advancement in life. To guard against the possibility some *tsu* stipulate that no able-bodied male is to receive any assistance (for example, see App. 44 and 37).

It has been pointed out that Fan Chung-yen, on founding the first *i-t'ien* did not provide his *tsu* with subsidies for education. One of his descendants of the present day contends that the system of providing a dole for everyone (see App. 36) reduces ambition. Comparing his *tsu*, a branch of the Fan in Soochow which moved to Wusih and kept up the traditions of the original *i-chuang*, with others in the vicinity, he regrets that the system of a subsistence allowance for all members prevented his group from producing prominent men through many centuries. Another *tsu* in the same neighborhood had invested all the income from their communal property in the promotion of education and, in consequence, now counts among its members nationally known scientists and educators. The rice allowance to all members in the *tsu* of Fan in Soochow has remained an isolated case, while the great amount of *tsu* land set aside for educational uses and the general emphasis on assistance towards an education demonstrates that this has become the prime purpose of the common property.

As the social standing of the *tsu* depends mainly on the social rank of a part of the membership, the number and prestige of those who have received a formal education is a deciding factor in the competition among *tsu*. While, without a doubt, many a poor man's son benefited from the school and the educational assistance derived from the common funds in his group in order to acquire the rudiments of reading and writing, it is the boy from families slightly above the subsistence level up through the upper class who profited most from the system since he could be spared by his family to spend years in studying and thus qualify for the civil examinations. This is still true at the present day where these institutions have been maintained. Thus Informant T, belonging to a successful business family, had his whole education paid out of the funds of the ancestral hall instituted by his great-grandfather.

The common property has to be viewed from still another angle. In a country where land is of prime importance, both for subsistence and as an investment, the ancestral halls and *i-chuang* occupy a dominant position through their extensive holdings. This land when rented out to poor *tsu* members alleviates the land hunger to some degree. However, the expected income from the property is always

calculated in terms of the customary rental, which is determined by the law of supply and demand. Therefore, the greater the land hunger grows, the more, comparatively, the ancestral hall and *i-chuang* will take in and the more benefits can be distributed. But as the rent rises tenant members of the *tsu* will resent it, feeling that they should be entitled to a better treatment than outsiders, a situation which occasions considerable ill feeling between the poorer class and the men who control the common property.

To cite instances of *tsu* which rent out their lands to indigent families among their membership: according to a recent survey in Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu, the ancestral halls habitually rent out their lands to the poor families in their midst in order to help them maintain themselves.⁴¹ In some districts in Kwangtung the common land is regularly rented out to *tsu* members, who may even have a priority for the lease. Thus in Lou-kang-jong, in the county of Hsin-hui, 70 per cent of the land is common property and any *tsu* member may apply for the lease from the ancestral hall without being required to pay the deposit demanded of outsiders. In one village in the district of Tai-shan the entire population of 130 families has organized itself into groups to apply for the lease of *tsu* land. When a *tsu* has very little common land, this is leased in turn to *tsu* members.⁴² The *tsu* of Yang in Wusih rented its land to members for a long time, evidently granting them special rates. The regulations concerning the land of their ancestral hall testify to the difficulties of forcing members to pay rents as high and as punctually as outsiders. Violent resistance or disobedience at the behest of outsiders cut down the income from the ritual land and made member-tenants undesirable. The prohibition to rent out the land to members seems to have had no effect in this area of dense population, fertile soil and high taxes (App. 41). The *tsu* of Fan in Szechuan also rents out its land to members, demanding a security against defaults (App. 40). The *tsu* of Chou in Ch'ang-shu threatens to let outside tenants have the land if members will not pay rent according to the fixed rates (App. 39). The *tsu* of Wang and the *tsu* of Chao both forbid the land to be given to members in order to avoid difficulties in collecting the income (App. 57; App. 57). Yet these three *tsu* are located in a district from which a modern investigator reports that the land of ancestral halls is often rented to members (see above). On the whole, the general tendency is to forbid members to rent the land so as to collect the maximum income from it.

A perusal of the regulations of the *tsu* of Fan in Soochow (App. 36) gives an idea of the frequent depredations of common property suffered at the hand of unruly members. Warnings that the buildings and articles of the ancestral hall and the *i-chuang* are not to be used by members for private purposes (App. 42 and App. 57), prohibitions against the cutting of wood and bamboo (App. 40), etc. are manifestations of the same latent hostility between the poorer section and the leaders of the *tsu*.

Thus, while indisputably the common property is of great benefit to the lower income group and thus has contributed to the solidarity of the *tsu*, it also occasions considerable tension, the more so as it may be used to further private interests. Li Chao-lo, after erecting an ancestral hall and establishing some ritual land, forbade his descendants to increase the common holdings. Though he understood and approved of the motives of Fan Chung-yen and other philanthropists in instituting *i-chuang*, he warns against this practice, because it incites many quarrels and law-suits among *tsu* members. "As the source of revenue is increased, men of a violent character will come forward, and, holding onto the large property of the *tsu*, will harass the countryside. When in difficulties they will help each other in litigations, and will not even shrink from physical violence." He expresses the desire that his descendants will remember that they must not depend upon the ancestors for their subsistence.⁷⁵ There is no doubt that the control of the common property gives a man great power in his group. Chen Han-seng observes that in Kwangtung the real power rests with the manager of the property and is at present much abused, so that the common property has become a modified form of private property. He attributes this to the impact of the modern capitalist economy on the old institutions.⁷⁶ It is evident that the danger was inherent at all times in a social structure as extensive as the *tsu*. It is only increased by the modern age with its emphasis on a money economy centered in big cities, as well as its disregard for old cultural values, which have very much weakened the social controls that made the common property an institution of benefit for the group.

INTER-TSU RELATIONS

Y and large relations among *tsu* in the same neighborhood are good, the more so as exogamy compels each family to take mates from outside the *tsu*.

Friendship, professional and other ties between individual members also serve to build up good feelings between groups of different descent. However, the esprit de corps which animates the *tsu* and causes the individual to use his fortune for the welfare and prestige of near and distant relatives, inevitably fosters a feeling of rivalry between such groups.

As explained before, the number and rank of members who received a formal education and held official positions determines in good part the standing of a *tsu* vis-a-vis its neighbors and in local politics. Thus its efforts to give the ambitious and intelligent among its members an education is evidence of the desire of the *tsu* to increase its prestige and influence. For this reason formerly most *tsu* commemorated the achievements of members distinguished for learning or official position by placing in the ancestral hall boards carrying laudatory inscriptions written by prominent men to remind coming generations of the glory of their ancestors and to serve as a stimulus to further effort. The eagerness with which *tsu* leaders used to solicit rewards in the form of laudatory inscriptions and permission for the erection of commemorative arches (as for faithful widows and filial sons) from the Board of Education and Religion also shows their desire to impress their neighbors. The pride in keeping all its membership out of court and in caring for its destitute reflects the same feelings.

Rivalry may also be expressed by the size and elaborateness of the ancestral hall. On an occasion like the inauguration of an ancestral hall described in App. 53 there is no doubt that the hosts were anxious to impress their guests.

On the whole the *tsu* within one community get along amicably, but occasionally they may ignore each other completely. To cite examples: the *tsu* of Fan in present-day Wusih are on the very best terms with the two other prominent *tsu* in the city (App. 12). But the *tsu* of Ch'u, who inhabit a village together with the *tsu* of Yü, will not have anything to do with their neighbors (App. 10).

In some communities the weaker *tsu* are often bullied by the more powerful ones. Often the small *tsu* are descendants of household slaves who have been set free, or of small traders who have settled in the village. In either case they depend on the good will of the dominating *tsu* in the community. In the county of Chao-an, Fukien, the small *tsu*, whose fields adjoin the property of the large *tsu*, have to place them under the "protection" of the latter, paying one-tenth to one-thirteenth of the produce in order to insure the safety of the crops.¹ While the aggressiveness

of the big *tsu* is not always as evident as this, it is fairly common in most regions where a strong rivalry exists between *tsu*. A recent account depicts conditions in the county of T'i-ch'üan, Shensi: "For three hundred years the adult males in our *tsu* never exceeded thirty. Living between two big *tsu*, and being poor members of the intelligentsia who have been agriculturists for four generations and teachers for three, they could not help being bullied and insulted by the big *tsu*, although several generations of us were the daughters' sons of big *tsu*." The writer records a poem on this subject: "Year after year, month after month, they come to borrow money. If you ask for a return of the capital only, you still are abused. If you don't lend money they come to steal, particularly at the end of the year. When they abuse you, bow your head; when they hit you, don't return the blow. Your wife and daughter you have to let them violate. Without money do not go to court."² Such are the indignities that the small *tsu* has to suffer in some parts at the hands of the powerful *tsu*, who certainly include among them a good proportion of the gentry. It is clear that in such regions the boy from a *tsu* of no importance has a much harder time to rise in the social scale. We have seen that this handicap is sometimes overcome by forging a fraudulent genealogical link to a powerful *tsu* in the neighborhood.

While a large membership is useful because more individual members may be expected to rise in the social scale, it can also be turned to good account for inter-*tsu* fights. This has been particularly true in Kwangtung and Fukien, and to a lesser extent in Hupei, Hunan, Anhui and Kiangsi. We have a good example in App. 10 of such feuds, that are engaged in even against the advice of the gentry. When in the end the quarrel is carried into court the latter have to exert themselves to extricate their group. The reason given in this case was the possession of a small hill. In cases known from other provinces the use of water for irrigation is a frequent source of conflict, and infringement of grave-land also may lead to it. At times the fights may occur between two factions within the same *tsu*, as in a case reported from Anhui. Many genealogies contain injunctions forbidding physical violence against other *tsu*. For example: the *tsu* of Mêng in Mien-ch'êng, Hupei, expressly forbids its members to use force in settling disputes with other groups, thus becoming involved in charges of homicide.³

The fights between *tsu* in Kwangtung and Fukien appear, on the whole, to follow the same general pattern. We see from App. 60 how the *tsu* in Kwangtung organized themselves for fighting. There are similar accounts, if not as detailed, from several parts in Fukien. Here the feuds used to be carried on over a number of years and with great bitterness. As a particular insult one party may dig up the bones of the other's ancestors and offer them for sale on the market.⁴ In one account from Ch'üan-chou the evil characters who dominated the *tsu* assessed money contributions and conscripted men for the fight. Families which lacked men of fighting age had to pay an extra amount. In feuds swords, scythes, clubs and rifles were

used.⁵ According to one account about Chao-an, the funds were used to purchase weapons and provisions for the fighters. Messenger service, blood money and litigation fees also were paid with it.⁶ When each side had lost about the same number of persons, they separated, taking the bodies they had killed and the captives they had made. The bodies were immolated by fire or by being thrown into the water, so that they could not be found,⁷ for *tsu* are anxious to avoid the interference of the authorities. In another example, the *tsu* of Wu in the county of Chin-chiang, several hundred strong and all engaged in pottery-making, had a fight with a group of people belonging to different surnames in the neighboring county of Nan-an because of the water supply. But they agreed among themselves not to take the case to the magistrate, as "he might do us much greater harm. We prefer to decide the quarrel ourselves."⁸ In this case a few men only were killed. Sometimes the casualties are much higher. When the *tsu* of Li in Nan-an, several thousand strong, fought a group of equal size, composed of several smaller *tsu* from a neighboring community, the number of killed was given as forty by some accounts, as two hundred by others.⁹ While the *tsu* would not take the case before the authorities, the magistrate felt constrained to punish the offenders for homicide. So he moved against the guilty parties with troops and militiamen. They found the villages empty and had to be content with destroying a few houses and killing some farm animals. In the end of the magistrate had to be appeased by bribes out of the pockets of wealthy *tsu* members. The latter were obliged to pay for the sake of their group, regardless of whether they were implicated or not.¹⁰ The investigation into the fight was then dropped. We have seen that in Kwangtung, too, the *tsu* try to shield the actual culprits. The results of such hostilities are described graphically by these words: "In the first fight the wealthy lose their wealth; in the second fight the wealthy are turned into poor men; in the third fight the poor scatter and die."¹¹

Thus wealth, as well as man power, is necessary to improve the status of the *tsu* through such a showdown. The emigrants from Fukien and Kwangtung to the East Indies and elsewhere are always urged to contribute money for the strengthening of their group, and, in fact, they are particularly anxious to see their *tsu* win in any quarrel with neighbors, as shown by the following example. Two large *tsu* were living in the same village on an island off the coast of Fukien. They had got along very well for many years administering village affairs in common until 1924, when dissension developed concerning the location of a watchtower. *Tsu* A, relying on their greater man power incarcerated members of *tsu* B and imposed a fine on them. The latter appealed for money to relatives on the island of Billiton near Java, but the remittances passing through the hands of *tsu* A, a certain percentage was illegally kept back. The members of B became thoroughly incensed. They built their own school and their own ancestral hall. Their relatives abroad, wrought up by the letters from home, heartily agreed to these proposals, and urged

that they be carried out as speedily as possible, promising to support them to the best of their ability.¹² Similarly when the Japanese advanced against the country of K'ai-p'ing in 1944 some of the strongest *tsu* determined to fight for their freedom and appealed to their relatives in the United States to send money for arms. However, there was no coordination between these groups, each preparing to make a stand by itself.

Since in regions of strong group rivalry the small *tsu* suffer indignities from the strong ones, the former often unite in self-defense. As stated before, the *tsu* in Kwangtung are able to unite on the basis of a common surname, so that those by the names of Ch'ên, Szü-tu, etc., which are very widespread, are able to dominate their localities economically and politically. On the other hand, the *tsu* by the surnames of Chang, Kuan, Liu and Chao, for example, have allied themselves through common ancestral halls and the fiction of their descent from the heroes of the time of the Three Kingdoms (220-265). This provides sufficient solidarity to withstand encroachments by large and strong *tsu*. To give a concrete example: in one *hsien* the *tsu* of Szü-t'u often showed aggressiveness towards the less powerful one of Kuan. So the latter combined forces with the *tsu* of Chang, which, though small, lived at the junction of a tributary river with the main stream, and thus was in a position to control the shipping that went down to the sea. The Kuan were glad to remember that during the period of the Three Kingdoms a Kuan and a Chang had sworn blood brotherhood. By allying themselves the Kuan obtained the help of the Chang in damaging boats of the Szü-t'u, if the latter tried to bully their neighbors, and should the Chang find themselves threatened they could rely on their sworn blood-brothers to bring relief. As we have seen, in Fukien, too, conflicts sometimes arise between one strong *tsu* and an aggregate of smaller groups.

The open clashes between *tsu* or groups of *tsu* are the direct consequence of the growth and integration of these groups. As an imperial edict in 1765 puts it: "Among the people, when the *tsu* become prolific, irresponsible persons will often lead the masses to precipitate unfortunate incidents. It has always been true that law cases arising from the banding together of many people for fights for the greater part were caused by the large *hsing* (i.e. the strong *tsu*)."¹³ The integration of the *tsu*, leading to great inequality of development, made possible the aggressiveness of the stronger groups. It should be remarked, however, that in many regions, as Chekiang-Kiangsu, violence is unheard of. In other words, the particular form which rivalry between *tsu* takes depends on the ethos of the locality.

CONCLUSION

It has become evident that the *tsu* derives its strength from the maximizing and formalizing of kinship ties. A feeling of close personal connections and obligations is maintained by keeping alive the consciousness of such a "natural" relationship, a relationship which can never be broken, not even after death. The solidarity achieved has given the *tsu* great influence and power. All *tsu* institutions—the establishment of the ancestral hall, of the common property, benefits for education and public welfare, the laying down of rules of behavior, the assumption of judicial powers—have a common aim: the consolidation of the group for the security and advancement of its members. The security offered is twofold: religious, in that the *tsu* assures the individual that the rites in his honor will be continued indefinitely; and social-economic, by assuring each member of assistance in case of need, both from the group and from individual fellow-members. The poor look to it for protection, while the wealthy and prominent expect from it a safeguard against the loss of social and economic position. The former are glad to depend on their group, and the latter find it useful for building up a following and for extending their influence. The larger, the more prosperous and cohesive the *tsu*, the more beneficial it proves to all its members.

We have seen that the solidarity within the group and rivalry between strong *tsu* is not entirely compatible with a centralized form of political control. In fact, in rural districts far from the capital the county magistrate has to take into account the wishes of the leaders of the most important *tsu*. For his own sake he often finds it advisable to refrain from interference with the autonomy of the group, particularly in judicial matters, until he is formally consulted. Any inquiry into disputes between *tsu*, too, is often resented, and, where these are strong, the local administrator will make a face-saving inquiry only in the case of homicide. By joining with other *tsu* on the basis of kinship, real or fictional, the common descent group may even exert pressure on the provincial administration, as we see from the example of Kiangsi (App. 61). Hence, the development of the *tsu* is inimical to the strengthening of centralized control. That Chinese statesmen were conscious of this antagonism is proved by the laws which, under the imperial regime, forbade individuals to be appointed to positions in the local administration of their own provinces. Laws to this effect were very strict, and were applied to all functionaries of the local administration, except for those concerned with education. An individual appointed to a province neighboring his own yet had to avoid any county within five hundred *li* of his old home. Nor could a person hold office in any locality where a group of his natives, including relatives within the mourning

degrees, were living, even though this was far from his original home.¹ Centuries of experience had taught the lesson that even an honest man has such strong ties within his home province, particularly because of the *tsu* organization, that he would find it impossible to administer public affairs with impartiality.

Yet no statesman ever made an effort to discourage the growth of the *tsu*. Rather the state rewarded those who increased the holdings of their *tsu* and promoted the education of its members. The reasons for this contradiction has been touched upon before. They arise partly from a historical-political tradition, partly out of practical administrative problems. The encouragement of moral behavior by the *tsu* is important in fostering in the young those virtues that make good subjects and citizens, for according to Confucian ethical conceptions, *chung* (loyalty to the ruler) and *hsiao* (filial piety) go together. Hence, the moral influence of a well-developed *tsu* has been beneficial to the state. Furthermore, the *tsu* as an autonomous unit constitutes a strong factor for stabilizing the rural neighborhood, thus facilitating the work of the local administrator. The principle of collective responsibility can be applied to prevent the *tsu* from shielding serious offenders. Thus, we find that at various times of history Chinese statesmen have advocated the encouragement of the growth of the *tsu* (as App. 62).

To understand the motivation of the wealthy and prominent man who is living far from the *tsu* center and is a descendant of ancestors who left their original home generations ago, and who nevertheless is concerned with the welfare and aggrandizement of his *tsu* and is always agreeable to helping poor *tsu* relatives, it is necessary to recognize how much the *tsu* has in common with other social groupings in China which also build up and strengthen personal ties. The contacts afforded by education, for example, establish strong personal bonds. Until 1911 the successful candidates for the civil examinations of any one year felt themselves close as friends, almost as brothers. Today the college tie is very effective, and graduates from the more important institutions form clubs in all the larger cities. They actively increase the prestige of their alma mater and further the advancement of individual members through personal contact. How important such bonds can be even between persons who barely know each other's name, was demonstrated in the Sino-Japanese War, when the school tie proved helpful to many individuals under the most distressing circumstances. To give more examples of groupings based on personal ties: the relationship between teacher and student, master-craftsman and apprentice is a common basis for a friendship whose obligations are of a binding character. Members of the same profession in all the larger cities used to form guilds which made rules for fair practices and which regulated prices, besides negotiating with the government when necessary. Citizenship in the same province constitutes the bond for the provincial associations in all the larger cities, no matter how distant the members are from their original home. These not only provide opportunity for social intercourse, but also give active help to members in

life and death; they represent the interests of individuals from their own province vis-à-vis the authorities. County ties are also close bonds, because they presuppose common dialect, mores and recollections.

Membership in these organizations is for life, and the involvement is deeper than in their counterparts in the Western World. In Chinese culture such ties are much valued, and by maintaining them intact the individual is certain that he can rely on numerous friends for sympathy and assistance in times of need. Maybon, in describing the provincial associations and other groupings writes very aptly: "He (the Chinese) sees in the association the only efficient remedy, a defensive and even offensive weapon, when he feels that some danger is to be feared. When he leaves his province, he allies himself with compatriots in the city where he makes his new residence, and in the provincial association he finds his home-land in the narrow sense, with its cult and traditions. There he finds also affection, good advice, moral or pecuniary assistance. If he is engaged in a profession, he forms a guild with his colleagues, where professional interests are discussed and which protects him against competition or hostility. A community of residence, of profession, of political ideas or of religious beliefs, anything is a pretext for the Chinese to form associations."³ To borrow two concepts from Tönnies, the Chinese relies on *Gemeinschaft* to attain security, but distrusts the cold impersonal contacts of a *Gesellschaft*. In order to secure himself against the hazards of the *Gesellschaft* he builds up an elaborate cobweb of *Gemeinschaft* relationships. The involvement may not always be agreeable, and at times the obligations may be contrary to the moral values that he holds, nevertheless he rarely repudiates them or breaks the ties thus formed.

This desire for associations on a *Gemeinschaft* basis runs through all strata of society and has resulted in organizations of considerable strength and autonomy. Among these organizations the *tsu* takes a prominent place, for, as we have seen, its bonds are built on attitudes instilled early in infancy, and they last beyond the lifetime of the individual. In the mind of the individual a *Gemeinschaft* of such permanence and strength has to be cultivated to serve as a safeguard against disaster. App. 5-9 demonstrate the fear of the family's being ruined or becoming disintegrated. Officials in high positions, particularly, are vulnerable, for they stand to lose everything through political intrigues and impeachment. The money and efforts they spend on the enrichment and the advancement of their *tsu* provide them and their descendants with a safe retreat in case of such a disaster. This is best expressed perhaps by the statesman Tsêng Kuo-fan (1811-1872), who at the height of his power constantly urged his sons to forget the position of their father and to maintain friendly relations with neighbors and relatives at their old home. In one letter he said: "If one covets only the bustling life in an official building, and does not build a firm foundation in one's rural home, then, after being dismissed from office, one will feel oneself in an atmosphere of decline."⁴

If wealth and prestige are gained in the city they are of no consequence in the old home unless one uses them for the good of the relationship group. By honoring the patterns of behavior derived from the family, by contributions to the *tsu* income, by exerting oneself in *tsu* negotiations with outsiders, by taking part in *tsu* deliberations, and, in general, showing an interest in the welfare of all *tsu* members, one wins and maintains the respect of one's own people in the old home. Thus a man builds up his influence in his home region. He gains for himself a position from which he can eventually stage a come-back, and prestige which will benefit the fortunes of his family long after his death.

Such a safeguard against the adversities of an economic and political nature is particularly necessary at a time of unrest. The more the political structure weakens, the more the autonomy which the *tsu* develops. It may not be entirely fortuitous that many *tsu* trace their beginnings to the early years of the Ming or the Manchu dynasty. Men who have experienced the dangers and difficulties of a period when political control has broken down and society has been thrown into chaos are sceptical of the ability of the new administration to maintain order. So they strengthen *tsu* bonds and exert themselves to increase the effectiveness of this group. While this autonomy of the *tsu* has been welcome to the central administration where it helped to maintain peace and order, statesmen have always been wary of *tsu* which grew strong enough to dominate their region and even to treat the administrator with disdain. Hence, the *tsu* in its recent form constitutes a centrifugal force for the state.

History has taught the lesson that, whenever the local power of the *tsu* was combined with political power, it constituted a centrifugal force for the unified state. This is contrary to the experience of other nations which developed a strongly centralized political authority, such as the Roman Empire, the Inca Empire or Japan. These states allowed the powerful clans a dominant position within their home region yet found means to keep them under control. In China the administrative laws show a progressive tendency through the centuries to detach the local administrator further and further from his home ties, thus demonstrating the weakness of the central government to deal effectively with the strong *tsu*.

The question might be asked: Is it likely that the *tsu* will continue to play its part in the China of tomorrow? Notwithstanding all recent changes the *tsu* has by no means passed out of existence. It is still much in evidence in the social, economic and political life of both North and South China. Membership in an influential *tsu* still provides the politician with many advantages which the man without such a background cannot hope for. Even the modern businessman in Shanghai still finds it wise to show concern for the well-being of his *tsu* and of *tsu* members who look to him for jobs. But the bankruptcy of the old rural economy and the intense conflicts between the old social structure and the new socio-political forces have had a destructive effect on the *tsu* organization. Its disintegration is further

speeded up by the development of industry and of modern cities. This new tendency affords many opportunities for men, even those with no means and no social connections, with the result that the mobility of the population has increased vastly as compared to former times, and thus *tsu* bonds have become loosened. Chinese intellectuals who have come into contact with Western ideas have revolted against the traditional patterns which heavily reinforced the authority of the elders and hampered the autonomy of the young. Their antagonism, directed mainly against the extended family system, has not spared the *tsu*, since it is based on the same set of attitudes. They have considered these traditional patterns responsible for the "backwardness" of Chinese society. Hence, for many young persons of our times, *tsu* bonds have lost their importance, and younger leaders are thoroughly in sympathy with the business-man who will not compromise with tradition.

While these external forces are working toward the destruction of the old *tsu* organization, the internal conflicts of the *tsu* have accelerated its dissolution. Based on the patterns of the family the *tsu* assumes that all members are equal before the ancestors. Behavior has to be in accordance with ethical considerations, which demand deference for seniority in age and generation, and so to a considerable extent ignore social position. The institution of common land to take care of the destitute and of the education of intelligent members grew out of the same feeling. Yet we have seen that the tendency has been for the extensive holdings of the group to be leased out to tenants of other groups. In recent years this tendency has become accentuated and wealthy *tsu* members have increasingly refused their lands to *tsu* members, for strangers can be dealt with more easily in collecting rent. This pursuit of economic profit estranges the landless members from the prominent ones. Moreover, the management of the common land has always been in the hands of the socially important men in the *tsu*, and given them a good measure of power within the group. From Chen Han-seng's description of conditions in Kwangtung we learn that in this region of strong *tsu* the common land has come to be regarded as a form of private property of those entrusted with its administration, a certain symptom that the feeling of responsibility to the common descent group is becoming lost under the impact of modern commercialism, with its attitudes of maximizing personal gain. In a word, the *tsu* organization is a product of the old Chinese society. As the old patterns of Chinese society continue to disintegrate and disappear, there seems little possibility for the *tsu* organization to survive.

It is idle to speculate how fast the *tsu* will disappear, or in how far it may obstruct modernization. This much we dare say, however: Bonds that have been of such vital importance in the social structure for many centuries and which are fundamental because they are bred in the individual at an early age are not lost immediately when new ideals and methods are introduced. They may obstruct

changes to a considerable degree.⁵ The emphasis on Gemeinschaft will make the acceptance of a smooth-functioning Gesellschaft difficult. In fact, should social conditions fail to give the individual security it is likely that the *tsu* may be called to reinforce it. If it seems desirable that the consciousness of "my kin group" versus other kin-groups be destroyed, a larger community of interest and of mutual aid has to be substituted. In other words, the individual must be made to feel that the nation constitutes a Gemeinschaft interested in his welfare. Then only will he lose the desire to elaborate kinship ties and to rely on them in need.

TABLE OF APPENDICES

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Note: The Appendices are all translations from the original texts. Where it was considered useful the translation has been given in full, and is placed in quotation marks. Where the full translation might have taken up too much space, the original has been condensed and only the most pertinent parts given in full translation. The excerpts from the genealogies have in part been regrouped for the convenience of the reader. In all cases the author has endeavored to render the language and the flavor of the original text as closely as possible.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: SOME INHERITANCE QUARRELS REPORTED BY WANG HUI-TSU

A. A man by the name of Shu Ch'iu claimed the inheritance of his distant father's brother. The latter had left only a daughter. During his life-time he had not divided his property with his elder brother, but as this one had only one son, he could not supply him with an heir. Now the uncle and his wife had died and their daughter was married, leaving 270 *mou* of land which Shu Ch'iu claimed as his own, since he was willing to perform the ancestral rites. Wang as legal counsellor of the local magistrate was entrusted with the case and decided that the daughter was to have 100 *mou* of the land; another 20 *mou* were to go for funeral expenses, and 150 *mou* were to be set aside, the proceeds to be used for sacrificial purposes. The descendants of the dead man's father, that is, his brother's offspring, were to associate him with their grandfather in the ancestral rites.*

Shu Ch'iu appealed to the higher court at the *fu*, which during the Ch'ing dynasty comprised several counties. The prefect of the *fu* thought that the claimant had a good right to the property and to carry on as the heir of the deceased. It would not be just to refuse his claim simply because he was the one to start litigation, and to give a good part of the land to the daughter, thus allowing the soul to be relegated to an inferior position. Then Wang gave his reasons in detail:

According to the law, if there is no son, one of the sons of the classificatory brothers should be set up as heir. The sons of the own brothers have the first right, then the first cousins, and so on, according to the degree of affinity among relatives who have mourning obligations towards the deceased. If none of these has a son to spare, one can be chosen from the more distant related families in the paternal line. Wang interprets this provision of the law as meaning that an heir may be set up, not as making it incumbent to set up one. Now, if no heir can be found among the close kin, a person can choose an able young man whom he likes well, always making sure that he belongs to the son-generation. No one in his *tsu* has a right to sue him because nearer relatives have been neglected in favor of a further relative. Thus this law leaves a man free to adopt an heir or not; no other person needs to meddle in his affairs. The importance of an adopted heir derives from his duty to serve his foster-parents in their life-time and to wear mourning for them, for this shows that emotional ties existed between them. The deceased in this case had not set up an heir in his life-time. If the distant nephew who was claiming the right of being the heir of his uncle's fortune is recognized as such, the soul

* Ancestral rites are performed by direct descendants. When a man dies without leaving sons he may be "associated in the ancestral rites," that is, his table is placed beside that of his brother, so that his soul may have a part of the offerings made to the latter. The soul of such a person occupies a distinctly inferior position.

of the dead would not know him. Further, the closest natural tie is that between father and son. To call another man father is not gratifying, that is why a person is not willing to be heir to one who is not his natural father without the latter's express command. Wang cites from the classics: "A man who is orphaned will not become the adopted heir of another individual," for he cannot obtain his own father's permission to do so. Shu Ch'iu's father had been dead for quite a long time. Neither his own father, nor the classificatory uncle whose property he claimed had ever expressed a desire to make him the latter's adopted heir, nor was he chosen by the nearer relatives to occupy such a position. This established the motive of the claimant as pure greed. In order to obtain more property he was willing to give up the rites for his own father and perform those for a person who had not wanted him as an heir. If he acts unfilial towards his own father, could he be expected to fulfill the duties towards his deceased uncle?

Since the dead had not divided his property with his brother, he must have been taken care of during his last years by his brother's son. If he had desired to adopt an heir, the division would have taken place before his death. So it was inconsiderate towards the dead to take away the possessions from his brother's line. So 150 *mon* should be given to them to defray the costs of caring for the grave and expenses for sacrifices. If the affection of a parent does not fall on a son it falls on a daughter. So it is only right to give the married daughter 100 *mon* of the land.

B. A man left 42 *mon* of land to his widow and her two daughters. The head of the *tsu* demanded that the land be given to the ancestral temple and the soul of the deceased be associated with his ancestors in the ancestral rites, since the women could not continue the line. The county magistrate deemed his request justified, and had given him authority to administer the land, which the widow was forbidden to sell; nor was she to collect rent from it. However, the *tsu* had to provide her with 30 *tan* of rice annually. Wang did not think this was a just solution. First of all, a faithful widow, even when lacking sons, was entitled to the inheritance. Since the widow had already administered the land for four years without selling any of it, it could be seen that she was quite capable. Then, the bringing up of the girls, their dowries, extra expenses, as for medical treatment, entertainment of relatives and friends etc. cannot be avoided, and these cannot be defrayed out of the paltry income of 30 *tan* of rice. To put aside a faithful widow and the daughters of the deceased, and grant the head of the *tsu* the right to make difficulties for them, was not only wronging the widow but also causing grief to the soul in the other world. He suggested that for the moment the widow be given full control of the land. After the marriage of the girls and the death of the woman five *mon* were to go to the ancestral temple of the *tsu*, and the proceeds to be used for the sacrifices in which the couple was to be associated with the ancestors. The rest of 37 *mon* the widow should be free to dispose of at her will.

C. A woman of a wealthy family, by the name of Chang, became a widow even before her son was born. When he was eighteen years old and just about to marry, he died. The other members of the *tsu* desired that an heir be set up for the father, but the widow insisted that the heir be set up for her son, that is, she wanted her son to be treated in

the ancestral ritual as a full-fledged adult with sons. These litigations had continued over a period of eighteen years, until Wang was entrusted with the case. The widow said that after the death of her son her life had been one of many hardships, more so than she had experienced while bringing him up. Several times she had been ready to die, if she had not been disturbed about the question of the heir. Now that she was sixty and felt her end approaching, she was more than ever worried about leaving her husband and son without a proper descendant to perform the rites.

On closer investigation Wang found that many years ago Mrs. Chang had designated a suitable person among the relatives as an heir to her son. The other members of the *tsu*, however, contended that the child was much too young, being still an infant at the time. Who could foretell whether it would live to fulfill its duties as an heir? Wang's advice to the county magistrate was: Since the son died on the threshold of adulthood, and further was the only child, the blow had been a very hard one for the mother. If no descendant was found for him he would be the last of the line and the eighteen years of her life which she spent in raising him would have been in vain. In accordance with "human feelings," an heir had to be instituted. The contention of the *tsu* members that the boy had not been married and hence the adoptive son would have no mother, Wang countered with a quotation from the Book of Ritual: "The descendant of a person who dies before attaining majority should wear the proper mourning garments," which shows that a man could have an heir without reaching adulthood. He emphasized that where the law code is insufficient it is justifiable to fall back on the *li* prescribed by the ancient writers. Since the woman had remained faithful to the memory of her husband, it was a fitting reward for her to let her son have the successor she had chosen, the more so as the classificatory grandson whom she had designated was already sixteen by this time.

Wang's friends and colleagues still had their doubts whether a decision in favor of a widow of a rich family might not be construed as the result of bribery. His superior asked him to change the sentence, but Wang remained adamant: An official acting as "father and mother of the people" should not let a faithful wife die frustrated. Entrusted as he was with the working out of the case he could not allow his superior to commit an injustice. He, Wang, did not care if people were rich or poor, but judged all cases according to reason.

The magistrate gave the verdict as suggested by Wang. When the members of the *tsu* appealed to a higher court it was upheld.

D. In later years Wang lived in his home in Chekiang. In 1797, when Wang was in his sixty-eighth year, he settled a quarrel in his *tsu* between a widow and her relatives.

Her husband had died when she was twenty-four, and she would have liked to see her husband's elder brother's son recognized as heir to her husband to perform the ancestral rites and take care of her old age. However, some other relatives wanted to have her adopt their son, contending that the nephew was an only son, but the widow did not like the other boy. This dispute had dragged on until the woman was in her fifty-second year, when she asked Wang Hui-tsu to settle it.

An imperial decree in 1775 had forbidden only sons to become adopted heirs of another family. Wang argued that this decree had not become a fixed law. Since an heir

is set up so that he may take care of the widow and continue the ancestral rites, the choice should fall on a person in the right (i.e. son-) generation, but it should also satisfy the heart of the surviving spouse. Only sons are important for the continuation of the line, but if a deceased person has brothers with sons, how can he be regarded as lacking someone to succeed him, particularly as the living can still procreate and the dead should be "continued" (that is, provided with an heir)? Even though the brothers had all died, one person may perform the ancestral rites for both lines. Should the deceased possess an hereditary title awarded by the government, would the decree concerning only sons be invoked to set up an heir from a distantly related family? The case was thus settled in favor of the widow. Wang further suggested to his *tsu* that in all future disputes about adopted heirs the wish of the individual concerned should be followed, and then the qualifications of the candidate ascertained. The settlement should always take into account the happy relations between mother and son.

APPENDIX 2: A DIVISION OF PROPERTY IN THE *TSU* OF CHAO IN CH'ANG-SHU, KIANGSU

A member of the *tsu* of Chao owned some 3000 *mon* of land, and, to avoid quarrels among the descendants, he settled the inheritance on his death-bed, dictating to his son. Although this is a testament, it takes the form of an announcement to the ancestors.

- a) 100 *mon* are to be set aside as ritual land.
- b) 100 *mon* are to be set aside for funds to encourage students in the *tsu*. a) and b) are to be under the joint management of the *tsu*.
- c) 300 *mon* are to go to his three brothers by the same mother.
- d) 600 *mon* are to go to his four brothers born of a different mother. The land being less fertile, they receive more. Since one of these brothers was adopted by a family of a different surname, the other three brothers divide his share.
- e) The eldest sister is married, but her husband being poor, she is to receive 30 *mon*.
- f) The three sons of the testator are to receive 500 *mon* each. The eldest son and his son having died early, the two younger ones have to give one son each to become heirs of their eldest brother. But the boys being still young, they are to grow up in the care of their own fathers. As to the land that rightfully belongs to the eldest son, after the taxes are deducted, one-half of the income is to be used for the common good, the other half is to be enjoyed by the widow of the eldest son. When the two heirs will have come of age, they are to receive the full inheritance of their father by adoption.
- g) One daughter is not betrothed yet, so 200 *mon* are set aside for her dowry and wedding expenses.
- h) The small amount of property that is left is to be used to defray the funeral expenses for the testator.

APPENDIX 3: THE *TSU* OF INFORMANT B

Practically all the families in my village bear my surname. We are all descended from the same ancestor and the lines of descent can be clearly traced in the genealogy. A few

families with different surnames have been living there for one or two generations and their membership is very small.

There is one ancestral hall in the village where the more important, that is, the common ancestors of the *tsu*, are honored. Each family has a room in its house for its own ancestors.

The village leaders have to be acknowledged by all. Their prime requisites are wealth and education. Most of them have passed some civil examinations during the Manchu dynasty. Father never had any interest in the work of a village leader, but whenever a contribution was needed, he was glad to give something. However, though he stayed away from public discussions, the leaders of the village came to talk over with him the matters at hand before making any decision.

The village leaders take care of such public works as the building and maintenance of roads and bridges. The money for these enterprises is obtained by subscriptions from the well-to-do, or some rich person may decide to have it undertaken in his own name. The village leaders also have to take care of the public land, the income from which is used for sacrifices to the earliest ancestors and for the maintenance of the local school. The boys of poor children are able to attend this school because their tuition is paid out of the public fund. Also, every second year plays are given in the village. A troupe is invited by the elders and paid out of the common fund. Aside from this, the only public property is a rice grinder. Any family having rice to grind sends someone to operate it. The leaders of the village also have to perform the annual sacrifices to the common ancestor at the Spring festival.

Our village is related to another one some fifteen miles away, where the people bear the same family name. We are known to have one ancestor in common with them, and his picture is still kept at that place. On every important occasion we send people to borrow it in order to use it in our village, returning it after the ceremony. Once, when I was quite young, some of our people were dispatched to obtain the portrait on loan as usual, but the relatives in that village refused to let us have it. Our envoys became very indignant at this unreasonable refusal and started a fight, finally bringing the picture back with them.

The families in the village were divided into "*fang*." The word means "house" originally, but in this case it means branches descended from the same ancestor. In my time there were only two *fang* left: the fourth and the fifth; the older branches must have become extinct. I belong to the fifth *fang*. Many of the children in the village belonged to a generation I had to call "grandfather," much to my annoyance. The ancestors of the fourth and fifth *fang* are not buried in the same graveyard, consequently each group sacrifices to its own ancestors.

The genealogy of the whole relationship group in the village is kept in the hands of the village leaders, but each *fang* and each *chia* has its own too, which is kept by the head of the group.

APPENDIX 4: SOME SOCIOLOGICAL PECULIARITIES OF THE REGION OF HUI-CHOU, SOUTHERN ANHUI*

Our region of Hui-chou has produced many enterprising business-men. As the soil is poor, it forces the surplus population to seek an outlet elsewhere. Many emigrants from our region have established themselves in Kiangsu, Chekiang, Kiangsi, etc. by making their fortune in business. Hu K'ai-wên, for example, whose Chinese ink is famous throughout the country, is a member of my *tsu*. His family and mine know exactly which generation each person belongs to and when addressing each other use the right kinship terms.

When a family in our region has two or more sons, only one stays home to till the fields. The others are sent out to some relative or friend doing business in some distant city. Equipped with straw sandals, an umbrella and a bag with some food, the boy sets out on the journey to some place in Chekiang or Kiangsi, where a kind relative or friend of the family will take him into his shop as an apprentice. He is about 14 years old at this time. He has to serve an apprenticeship of three years without pay, but with free board and lodging. Then he is given a vacation of three months to visit his family, who in the meantime have arranged his marriage for him. When he returns to his master he leaves his wife in his old home. Every three years he is allowed a three months' vacation with pay which he spends at home. If the weather is bad and roads hard to travel, it may be extended another month. So we have a saying that "a life-time spent with one's wife is no more than three and one half years." Three and one-half years makes 42 months. One month per year on the average means 42 months in 42 years, and not all people enjoy more than 42 years of married life.

There is an organization which transports money, foodstuffs, clothing materials, etc. which the emigrant wants to send to his family. It maintains agencies in the towns, and, when a shipment or remittance has arrived, the agent notifies the family to fetch it. If a boy is too young to travel alone, he is entrusted to the same organization which takes him safely to his destination.

Thus, if of average intelligence and luck, a man stays away from home as the hand of some business man. If he is very able he may succeed in starting a business of his own. In this case he is able to take his family to live with him and settles down in the city. Many people of prominence in Kiangsu, Chekiang, etc. still remember, or have recorded in their genealogies, the time when their families moved out from Hui-chou.

APPENDIX 5: MORALITY AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Wang Hui-tsu maintains that to assure the continuous prosperity of the descendants the amassing of wealth and consultations with the geomancer to find propitious locations for graves are the last thing to trouble about. "The fundamental thing is to be sincere in giving advantages to other people. If one is willing to suffer one particle of privation,

* Comprising the six counties of Hsi, Hsiu-ning, Wu-yuan, Ch'i-mên, I, and Chi-ch'i.

then the sons and grandsons will reap one particle of benefit. Those who have attained social prominence mostly started out with their bare hands and established their reputation. One half of them were orphans and did not rely on the fortune left by their forefathers."

He further relates that in a conversation with some friends he asserted that he had seen many officials compelled to sell their children because of dire poverty. When asked for the reason he explained that within several decades he had seen many men make a fortune by exploiting their position, but the sons and grandsons of these men all went downhill and were derided by those whom their fathers had once oppressed. On the other hand, he had observed that the sons of hard-working, honest officials were mostly able to follow in the wake of their parents.

APPENDIX 6: THE RISE AND DECLINE OF FAMILIES FOLLOW CERTAIN RULES

"One who establishes a family (in terms of prosperity and social standing), seeing that all his undertakings turn out as he wishes, thinks that he has achieved this by cleverness and cunning. He does not know that fate is changeable. Full of ambition he is greedy for more and more, and also feels that he (meaning his family and fortune) alone will last long and will never be ruined. Is this person not laughed at by the Creator? The one who will ruin him probably is already born in his home as a son or grandson. Those who stand by his side every day are those who will some day ruin the life-work of their father or grandfather. Unfortunately the father or grandfather cannot see this with his eyes. Formerly someone was having his residence built. He feasted the artisans in the apartments on the east (of the main building) saying: 'These are the people who built this residence.' He feasted his sons and younger brothers (i.e., the younger people of the extended family) in the apartments on the west, saying: 'These are the people who will sell this residence.' Later it happened according to his words."

APPENDIX 7: THE RISE AND FALL OF FAMILIES

"The rise and fall of individuals and families always has its reason. If their conduct is virtuous, then their families are established firmly; if their conduct is evil, then they will fall. This is inevitable according to reason and cannot be doubted. Everything that is in accordance with reason is good, all that conflicts with reason is evil. What difficulty is there in seeing that? Certainly one should not attribute the rise and decline to destiny, and dampen the desire to do good. If those who know fate (i.e. fortune-teller) do not stand under a wall, or are hemmed in by (a blind belief in) destiny, then they are all right (i.e. they should take into account the working of eternal justice). The reason why I again and again talk about this subject, is that truly the establishment (of a family) is very difficult and the decline very easy.

"The understanding of goodness begins with an acknowledgment of one's wrongdoings and their quick corrections, and the courageous performance of a duty as soon

as it is seen. In that case what good can one not perform, what evil can one not put aside? This is why the cause for the establishment and fall (of a family) lies in what an individual has learned and practiced. Such cases recorded in the books are very many, and those we can see with our own eyes are not few either. Exert yourselves, exert yourselves (in the practice of the good)! Do not think my words irrelevant!"

APPENDIX 8: THE IMPORTANCE OF VIRTUE

"From what I have seen, the forethought of our ancestors regarding their descendants reaches far indeed. On the one hand they accumulated virtue (-merit), on the other, riches. The land, houses and other establishments (they left) were quite a few.

"Due to the war (disturbances at the end of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty) little was saved of our property, yet the descendants of our *tsu*, both the wise and the ignorant, have been left. Though they are scattered, they are all descendants of our *tsu*. From this we know that one need not plan for the wealth of later generations, that virtue can cause them to continue into the distant future.

"If our sons and grandsons can truthfully keep and cultivate this (virtue), then the advancement of the heirs of our *tsu* will be incalculable. This is why I do not worry that our descendants will lack riches, but worry lest they lack virtue. Alas! If they be unwise, though their riches accumulate, they will not be able to keep them, and these will be good only for involving them (i.e. cause disaster by exciting envy or giving cause for lawsuits). Should they be truly wise, they will be able to carry out (the teachings of) the sages of former times. Making duty their profit, their clothing and food will naturally be ample. How can we say that the accumulation of virtue (-merit) is not important?"

APPENDIX 9: THE TRUE AND FULL WAY OF PRAYING FOR SONS (BY YÜAN HUANG-KUN)

In his introduction the author states that he had no sons till the age of fifty. Travelling through the city of Chien-k'ang (south of present-day Nanking) he obtained the secret method of begetting sons. He practiced it with success and, sympathizing with all the persons who desired sons, he passes the secret on to the public. This is a synopsis of the 30-page treatise which consists of a combination of Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian ideas.

The steps to be taken to obtain a son are given as follows:

1. Repentance of sins. The author goes to some length explaining why one should repent:
 - a. The ancients have always taught the necessity of cultivating a feeling of shame.
 - b. Heaven-Earth, the divinities and spirits cannot be deceived, sins cannot be hidden from them. On the other hand, true repentance will wash off the sin (or crime), no matter how horrible, or how long a time has passed since its perpetration.

Three types of repentance are cited:

- a. Repentance in form of deeds, such as desisting from the killing and eating of meat.
 - b. Repentance through reason. For example, by refraining from anger when one is eclipsed by the success of another, or in the face of calumny. Since these are occasions for "grinding and molding" one's character, one should welcome them.
 - c. Since all evils arise out of the desire of the heart, one should train one's heart to be quiet and not allow desires to arise. This is the safest way to achieve repentance.
2. Accumulation of good deeds. Stories of contemporary people are given to show that good deeds are usually rewarded by the birth of sons. The author goes into detail in classifying good deeds as:
 - a. true or false;
 - b. straight—that is performed out of a sincere heart, or crooked—that is performed with hypocritical intentions;
 - c. *yang*—known to the world and rewarded by admiration or praise, or *yin*—known only to Heaven;
 - d. positive—having a beneficial influence on other men, or negative—constituting a good deed in itself, but in effect leading someone else into sin;
 - e. upright and yet partial—done with good intention, but in effect harming someone; or, partial yet upright—done with an ulterior motive, yet in effect beneficial to some one;
 - f. full—that is, out of a full heart, according to one's capacity; or, half—that is, half-heartedly, grudgingly;
 - g. difficult or easy.
 3. Accumulation of the semen. By:
 - a. restraining sexual desire, since desire causes much waste of semen;
 - b. avoiding physical and mental exertion;
 - c. avoiding anger;
 - d. avoiding alcoholic beverages;
 - e. eating food with a minimum of spices.
 4. Going through breathing exercises regularly. The breath is important for giving life to the foetus.
 5. Conservation of the spirit. He quotes Taoist theories that the spirit should be retained in one part of the body. The spirit influences the breath, and is of importance in causing conception. This is the most esoteric part of the treatise.
 6. "Peace in the room," meaning in the conjugal family. Only in a peaceful home will sons grow well. To maintain peace the husband should be upright and sincere in his conduct to his wife, in order to win her affection. He should never show himself harsh and cause her to fear him. If one spouse has doubts, he or she should question the other, rather than harbor suspicions in his or her mind. If one is sick, the other should watch over him or her. If one is wrong, the other should be understanding and lenient. In this way the feelings between husband and wife should be most cordial. Moreover, they should treat each other like

good friends: when one is in the wrong, he or she ought to accept a reproof from the other without resentment.

7. Knowing the right time for conception. The author quotes a Taoist classic that conception will occur only one day in a month and only at one time on this day. So it is necessary to observe the time when the wife shows the greatest readiness.
8. The development of the foetus is described.
9. Treatment of diseases of the husband and wife that might impede conception or birth.
10. Prayers. Repentance and good deeds lay the foundation for effective prayer. A number of prayers to Gautama Buddha and Kuan-yin are given. They are in the form of spells, and seem to be transcribed from the Sanscrit.

Further, the author advises the making of a statue, without specifying which divinity it is to represent, and also the erection of a platform on which incense is to be burned and prayers said. For those who want to go further he prescribes certain rituals to be undertaken.

APPENDIX 10: THE TSU OF CH'U IN KAO-AN, KIANGSI

HISTORY

Our *tsu* came to Western Kiangsi from Chekiang, where they had moved from Honan. Our genealogy traces this migration very clearly as it has been compared and revised in accordance with that of the Ch'u in Chekiang, and the latter again has been brought into accord with the genealogy of the Ch'u in Honan.

Our first ancestor who came to Kiangsi we call by the honorary name of Jên-fu-kung. His younger brother was an official in Kao-an for a time, but later returned to his home in Chekiang. Jên-fu-kung had the ability to "see" the auspiciousness of a location, and he found that a mountain ridge in our neighborhood was extremely favorable, in fact, a family living there would be sure to produce a prime minister in time. However, later he moved his family. The reason was that he felt that one important personage in the family would take away the *lung-ch'i*—"dragon-power," or luck of the whole *tsu*, hence it would be more worthwhile to have the whole *tsu* prosper equally. So they moved to a place a little away from the foot of the mountain which our ancestor had thought so propitious.

Our village is the only one inhabited by the *tsu* of Ch'u in our neighborhood, probably in all Kiangsi. It adjoins that of the *tsu* of Yü, but there is no community of interests or of administration between us, nor is there any ill-feeling. However, while we have been growing in number, they have been on the decline and had to adopt boys from other *tsu* to keep up their population. They are composed of farmers only, while our *tsu* possesses both farmers and educated people.

In earlier times our *tsu* was composed in part of merchants engaged in banking and in the jewelry business, making considerable money in this way. Later they turned to studying in order to qualify for the imperial examinations and official positions. In recent years we have not had any merchants in our *tsu*, nor did we have anyone in the *tsu* who

occupied a high position in the administration. However, we enjoy a good reputation in the neighborhood, and any family is glad to intermarry with us.

Our genealogy is revised every ten years. In between, every year on New Year's day every family that owns one brings its copy to the *tz'ü-t'ang* and exhibits it. Not every family owns a genealogy, but some ten families own one between them. While on the whole the different copies are alike, the tables of each *fang* are more detailed in the copy owned by the particular *fang*. Each owner of a copy also has another book of the same form in which he enters all the births and deaths, marriages, etc. that occur within his group in these ten years. The genealogies omit names of husbands married into the *tsu* and *tsu* members who are adopted by another *tsu*, also children born out of wedlock.

In the ancestral hall a temporary list is kept. Should a son be born to a man, he indicates it first in his own list, then, at New Year, he writes the name of the boy, the names of the parents, his generation and rank in order of birth, the date and time of birth on a slip of red paper, which he takes to the ancestral hall together with a number of feast dishes (in recent times wine has been substituted). The slip of paper is handed to the person in charge of the temporary list, and the name of the child is entered. Often the infant is carried into the ancestral hall by the proud father to be presented as evidence. A girl cannot be taken to the ancestral hall, as no women are allowed inside the building. Since her birth is not important to the continuation of the *tsu*, her name is entered only in the temporary list of her father and later is added to the revised edition of the genealogy. When a son of the *tsu* marries, the family name of his wife, her birthday and -time, and her rank in the order of birth are registered. When a person dies, beside the time of death the location of his tomb has to be mentioned.

The number of genealogies in each *fang* was determined at an early date and has continued, regardless of the number of *chia* in each *fang*. Thus, for the purpose of keeping genealogies the *fang* may be thought of as subdivided into a number of branches, the eldest line of each holding the genealogy and keeping the temporary list of all births, marriages, and deaths within the branch. The only privilege that this man enjoys for the extra work he does is to obtain an extra number of pastries at the ancestral hall on New Year.

ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

The *tsu* is subdivided into *fang* descended from the sons of the first ancestor who settled down in Kiangsi. Each *fang* has a head, the *fang-chang*. The whole *tsu* has a *tsun-chang*, the leader of the village. The *tsun-chang* must be the oldest man of the oldest generation living. The same is true of the *fang-chang* within their *fang*.

While these are the recognized leaders, all matters of public importance must be discussed with an informal council to which belong the men who had either obtained the first degree—*hsiu-ts'ai* under the imperial examination system, or have graduated from a middle school under the Republic, and also all men over sixty-five, though these have less to say. The men who had received an education are called *szü-wên*, that is, "gentlemen." Men who have been engaged in business can not qualify for the council in spite of wealth unless they have had an education, but as they grow above the age of sixty-five they are automatically admitted.

All discussions take place in the ancestral hall. Whenever a matter of importance

comes up, a bridge to be built, a road to be repaired, the rent of the common land to be collected, etc. the council and the leaders of the *tsu* go to the ancestral hall. This occurs some eight or nine times a year. Every New Year's Day after the parents have been greeted, the men all go to the ancestral hall. There the *tsun-chang* and *fang-chang* are seated, with the *szŭ-wên* standing on one side. All members of younger generations have to kow-tow to the leaders of the *tsu*, and each one receives four pieces of pastry. Even babies in arms can be brought in by their fathers, but no woman or girl is allowed to participate. The *szŭ-wên* receive a double share of pastries.

The administration of funds from the *chi-t'ien*—"ritual land," is in the hands of the *szŭ-wên*. All the men with proper qualifications, regardless of age, are organized in a number of groups, about ten men to the group. Each of the groups takes over the work for one year. Two men are in charge of the incoming and outgoing money, while the rest serve as supervisors and advisors. Naturally a person who is absent from the village has no voice.

Among the matters that have to be decided by the council I have mentioned the building of bridges and the repairing of roads. The funds for this work always come from the common land. Very poor families receive subsidies for their children out of the same funds, no distinction being made between boys and girls.

A crime of any kind committed by a member of the *tsu* in the village is judged by the council. For example, if a son has been unfilial to the extreme, what we call "he hit his mother"—in actuality no one ever hits a parent—the parent will come to the ancestral hall where the leaders and *szŭ-wên* are gathered and make her complaint. The *szŭ-wên* will each give his opinion. After a while of this informal discussion the *tsun-chang* pronounces the sentence based on the opinions of the majority. If the offender is to be punished physically or admonished in public he, as the oldest of the oldest generation, alone has the authority.

All informal discussions, or deliberations as to the use of public funds etc., take place in the Small Meeting-hall. But when it is a case of discipline the case is heard by the *tsu* leaders and the council in the Main Meeting-hall in the presence of the entire village. Any case that is taken to this place for discussion must be very grave indeed, for any dispute carried into this part of the ancestral hall cannot be taken back, that is, it must be submitted to the judgment of the leaders and the council. The wooden boards that are used for the punishment of offenders hang in the Small Meeting-hall, and are taken out when the sentence calls for their use.

When a *fang-chang* is accused of an offense it is deliberated by the council and the other leaders, but not in the Main Meeting-hall, since this would make it too serious and call for the presence of the whole population.

Very rarely an irregularity is detected in the administration of the funds of the ancestral hall and the fields from which this is derived. The only benefit the administrator can derive from his work is that he has a sum of money at his disposal which for the time being he may use for his private interest, refunding it when the occasion calls for it. But at the end of the year the administration of the funds has to be turned over to the next group of *szŭ-wên* and a clear account has to be rendered. Since the budget is worked out at the beginning of the year, and takes into account the amount of income

from the ritual land, the administrator who has borrowed money and cannot refund it at the time it is required, stands exposed. Then his family is forced to give a certain amount of land in mortgage to the ancestral hall, which is returned to them later when they have paid in full the money taken.

As far as I know, no murder has taken place in my village, though there have been cases of theft. Our *tsu* never punishes by expulsion, or by omission from the tables in the genealogy. When someone starts a fight with a person in another village, which happens not infrequently, a *szü-wên* is asked to arbitrate. Some *szü-wên*, who do not have a large family, are fond of arbitrating, and consequently have developed considerable dexterity in such matters, and hence are often called upon in quarrels within or without the *tsu*. They feel that such an invitation increases their prestige, and will exert their ability to bring about a solution satisfactory to all parties concerned.

The *szü-wên* themselves may have differences of opinion, but they must never give violent expression to these. To do so would cause the censure by public opinion, for an educated man should know better how to control himself, one of the aims of education being character training.

THE LAND

If anyone is destitute he may sell his land. However, it must not go out of the hands of the *tsu*. The man would first offer it to his nearest relatives, that is, his brothers. If they are not able to buy it, he will approach other more distant relatives always in order of nearness. Since a man will sell his land for a moderate price to a near relative rather than for a high price to a distant one, it is very difficult to acquire large areas, even though the individual have the money. In our village there are no very rich landowners, nor very poor peasants. If some person is in difficult circumstances he can always borrow money from the *ts'u-t'ang* at a very low interest rate. Landowners in our village rent out their land to *tsu* members who do not own enough to maintain themselves. Only land that is far away is rented to other tenants.

The boys who take up studying in order to attain an official position are not always well-to-do. If a first- or second-degree student were hard up he could go even to men outside the *tsu* who were wealthy and had themselves attained a fairly high status through the imperial examinations, and borrow money from them. This was called *ta-pa-tzü*—"to shoot at the target." Knowing that the young man would soon make his way up in the administration these men were always willing to help.

TSU FIGHTS

In our neighborhood it is fairly common for the whole *tsu* to fight against each other. Thus our *tsu* many years ago fought with another *tsu* living at some distance because of a small mountain with woods. In these fights the *szü-wên* never take part, nor the leaders of the *tsu*. They are determined upon by the majority of the farmers, who spontaneously choose a leader from among themselves. A time and place is agreed on beforehand, and on meeting there the two groups fight with swords and spears until several men have been killed on each side.

Though the leaders of the *tsu* and the *szü-wên* do not approve of the fights they cannot prevent them. After the fight, the two groups go to court. Then the *szü-wên* have

to represent their *tsu*. Should they show any unwillingness to take up the task of presenting the case of their village against the other, the farmers would reproach them severely.

Should the *szü-wên* try to dissuade the farmers from the fight they would be severely upbraided by the latter, for their contention is "Since we are willing to sacrifice our lives for the common good and do not ask you to risk anything you have no right to hold us back." Nor can the ringleader be brought to trial in the ancestral hall, since the farmers would come in a body and make it impossible.

When a case is taken to the court the authorities rarely give a definite verdict; usually they only put off the decision. In our case the mountain that was the object of the fight could not be proven as belonging to either the one side or the other, so the judge did not decide in favor of either party, but left it for later generations to settle. We felt frustrated at the time, but it is a common saying that "An honest official has a hard time to settle differences within families."

In many communities, there is an athlete who trains all the boys in Chinese boxing, sword-fighting and the use of spears during the rest period from agricultural work in the early winter. In our village he was only a farmer who had achieved considerable skill in athletics, but in other places he might be a professional who went from locality to locality teaching the farmers' boys. Anyone could join in the training. Many of us sons of *szü-wên* took boxing lessons, for which we had to pay a small amount as everyone else. During the New Year's holiday the teacher took some ten of his best pupils and made a tour of the neighboring communities with them, where they demonstrated their skill. This was an effective demonstration of the physical prowess of the village.

We do not stand on a good footing with the village adjoining ours. There is an undercurrent of hostility to them, though we never fought them. We do not intermarry with them; to marry someone from that village would have been felt as a disgrace for the ancestors.

Whenever a member of the *tsu* is maltreated or misused by someone, his fellow-members help him to the best of their ability. In disputes involving two *tsu* it is essential to have both physical power and intelligence matching those of the opponent. On the whole, the bigger *tsu* has the advantage. However, the number and quality of the persons with education can outweigh the disadvantage of small numbers to some extent.

Children in our neighborhood never band together against those of another village. If they do, any fight could be easily prevented by the adults.

ANCESTRAL RITES

All the ancestral tablets are kept in the back of the ancestral hall. Each family has one tablet for the four generations of ancestors honored in the family ritual. In the center the name of the great-great-grandfather and -mother are written in large letters. On one side are placed the names of the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of this couple, on the other those of their wives. When the tablet is filled up it is sent to the ancestral shrine and another one is made for the family. Hence, the larger the family, the sooner its tablet is filled up. When brothers separate and divide their property, they continue to hold their family rites together, using the same old tablet. Their sons will make new tablets, one for each conjugal family.

The two most important occasions for the ancestral rites are:

a) the winter solstice, when the first ancestor is honored, in company of the ancestors of the *fang*;

b) some time in the 12th month when all the early ancestors are sacrificed to. This ritual is far more elaborate than the other. Of course, at the Clear-and-Brightness Festival the graves have to be visited. In our *tsu* the family ritual has little significance, taking place around the New Year and the 15th of the 7th month; the attention of all members is focused on the rites in the 12th month.

Fig. 4 is a plan of our ancestral hall at the time of the rites of the 12th month. All those officiating in the ritual must be *szǔ-wên* or over 65 in age. The *tsu* leaders participate only in so far as they bring out the tablets of the early ancestors, the *tsun-chang* carrying the tablet of the first ancestor, and the *fang-chang* those of the ancestors of each *fang*. When they have set the tablets on the five tables in the Main Meeting-hall, they retire to the Small Meeting-hall in the back. The rest of the men in the village sit on benches outside the Main Meeting-hall where the rites are taking place and watch the proceedings. The Master of Ceremonies, or *ch'ang-li*, is always the very oldest man among the *szǔ-wên*. However, when he has passed a certain age, he may retire and join the *tsu* leaders in the back room. The Reader who reads the address to the ancestors is always a young boy who has just become qualified as a *szǔ-wên*. The Leader, or *chu-chi*, also is young. Usually he has served two or three years as Reader before being designated as Leader. Every year another boy is chosen for this work. His assistants are young too, but a little older than he. The Guides, or *yin-tao*, are always older men.

The Leader and his assistants are the only ones to kow-tow to the ancestors. They represent the *tsu*. For offering the food to the ancestors the Leader is escorted by the Guides to the Incense Table and from there to the tables bearing the ancestor tablets. While he serves the first ancestor, the Guides serve the others.

After the rites are over the participants go into the back room, where they have some refreshments, together with the leaders of the *tsu*. For the sacrifice whole pigs and lambs are killed and offered without cooking. This meat is cut up and taken home by the participants of the ritual. The next day they all come back to the ancestral hall and have a grand feast. On this day the *tsun-chang* has the place of honor, but the *fang-chang* are constrained to cook the dinner, and to supervise the serving of the dishes.

The ancestral tablets do not list the degree obtained by the individual through examinations or his position as an official. If a person has occupied a high position in his life-time, the government in imperial days used to hand down a eulogistic phrase, which the ancestral hall then had inscribed in large characters on a large board. Many such *pien*, as they were called, hung in our ancestral hall. The higher the position of the individual, the greater his merit, the bigger the *pien*.

I became familiar with the affairs of the *tsu* because, my father living in the provincial capital, my grandfather took charge of me during my childhood and youth. He was one of the most influential men in the *tsu* and told me a great deal about the working of the system. Soon after graduating from middle school I functioned as the leader in the ritual. As mentioned before, no girls are allowed in our ancestral hall, nor are sons of the daughters of the *tsu* allowed there. However, this rule varies: on a visit to my mother's

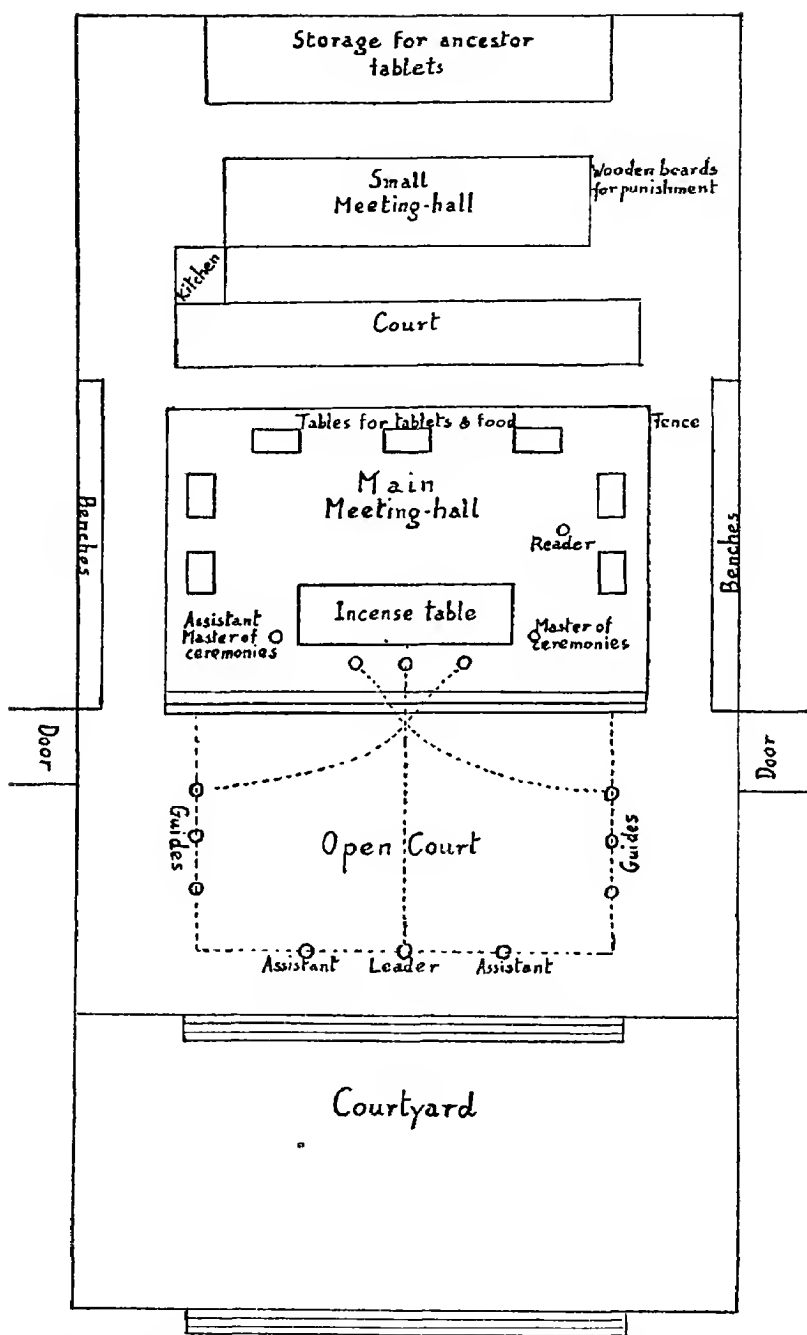


FIG. 4. ANCESTRAL HALL OF THE T'zu OF CH'U DURING THE ANNUAL RITUAL

mother's family I was taken to the ancestral hall on New Year's Day and received pastries along with the rest of the boys.

DIVISION OF PROPERTY

The division of property may take place in the life-time of the father if the latter is willing, but the sons should not demand it. Among the farmers it often takes place quite early, when the sons have reached the age of thirty. Among the *szŭ-wên* the division is often decided upon much later. Thus in our family, though my grandfather is dead, the division has not taken place yet, although my grandfather arranged beforehand how the property will be divided, in order that it might not lead to trouble between his sons.

The division of property is the cause for many disputes. This is why the *tsun-chang*, *fang-chang* and *szŭ-wên* are all invited to be present. They have to be feasted with a banquet. Usually each of the brothers has made up his mind beforehand what he wants of the inheritance, and so the quarrels start when two of them want the same piece of land or the same part of the residence. In such a case the elders will decide on how to divide the land and buildings into equal parts, and then make the sons draw lots. When everything is agreed upon, a document is drawn up as evidence of the division.

A man in our *tsu* had two sons, one by his former wife, one by the second wife. Afraid that his wife would make trouble he wrote a will directing that "the wood and bamboo were all to be divided in two." As he had suspected, his widow demanded that the inheritance be divided into three parts, and one of them being given to her. But the elders pointed to the will and the division was effected on this basis.

This woman had a certain right to demand an extra share, for, when the father dies, the mother usually lives with her youngest son, because the others have been married. Then an extra share is allotted to her in the division, which after her death is divided among the sons.

The eldest son often receives an extra share called the *chang-sun-t'ien*—"field of the eldest grandson," that is, the share that is to be passed on to his eldest son outside of the property to be divided among the brothers. In our family this has been the tradition for several generations, and my grandfather has set aside twenty *mou* of land for me as his eldest grandson. It is usually the grandfather who designates how much is to be given to the grandson. But many families do not have this custom, the eldest son possessing neither prerogatives nor special duties.

Our *tsu* does not like the adoption of sons from a group with a different surname. Even if a young man from our *tsu* is adopted by some family in it after his marriage, this family may constrain him to marry another wife. This wife will be chosen by them, and her children will inherit to the exclusion of the children of the first wife.

APPENDIX 11: THE TSU OF TSÉNG IN HUNAN

1. "The *bu-shou*—'head of the *bu* (or family)'—is to be the leader of the *tsu*, and must see that the moral principles are upheld. For every term of office two men should be elected publicly, men who excel in ability and virtue, and command respect through their firmness so that they may lead the affairs of the *tsu*, take charge of the ancestral

rites and urge each *fang* to pay its taxes to the government at an early date. All the land deeds for the ritual land and the articles for use in the ancestral hall should be in their hands. In case of a dispute in any *fang* which cannot be settled by the head of that *fang* he is to call the disputants to the ancestral hall, where the heads of the *bu* are to be asked to settle the quarrel according to justice."

After three years of office the heads of the *bu* are to lay down their office. Another election is held to select two persons who can hold office and carry on the duties for another term.

2. Each of the six *fang* is to choose an individual who is well-to-do and has integrity of character as the head of the *fang*. Of these, three men should manage the rent in grain and money of (the fields at) T'ien-tang-wan; the other three men should manage the rent in grain and money of (the fields at) Ch'uan-shang and Lo-chia-wu.

Every year the ancestral rites are to be held in the spring at the Festival of Clear-and-Brightness; in the autumn on the 12th of the 7th month; in winter at the winter solstice. The six men should take turns performing the rites in three shifts, and perform them with sincerity and reverence. Some time before every ritual the heads of the *bu* should be consulted about the rules. Two men are to take charge of the rites, with the other four assisting, thus assuring the uniformity (of the ritual). Further, all the young people in the *tsu* who are studying should be made to attend the rites.

"As to the repairing of the ancestral hall, and the rites at the ancestral graves, the six men are to take turns in attending to these matters, and must not put it on the shoulders of others. At the end of three years they are to lay down their offices and give a clear account of the income and expenditures in money and grain. This should not be done in a careless and perfunctory fashion."

3. Deals with the income from the common land that is to be used by the heads of the *bu* for the maintenance of an old temple and the rites to be performed on behalf of one *fang*.

4. "To hand out subsidies to young people for their studies, paper and brushes. Those families who own thirty *mon* of land and less are classified as middle families, those that have more than thirty *mon* are to be classified as upper families. The young men of upper families are to be given four *ton* (peck), those of middle families one *tan* (bushel). This is to continue from the beginning to the completion of their studies, regardless of their wealth or poverty. The head of the *fang* is to prepare a book listing all the names (of boys). On the Clear-and-Brightness Day (each family) is given grain checks according to this list. In the fourth month a time will be set for each family to bring their checks and carry away the grain. Later, if there should be many young people in the *tsu* who study, all those whose families have thirty *mon* of land and own other property besides are to be treated as upper families.

"As to those young men who go to take the *yuan* examination (at the county seat), they are to be given 1600 cash for the expenses; those who take the *hsiang* examination (i.e. at the provincial capital) are to be given 4000 cash; those who take the *hui* examination (i.e. at the capital) are to be given 20,000 cash. Those who succeed in the first examination are to be given 40,000 cash as a congratulatory gift; those who succeed in the second are to be given 80,000 cash; those who succeed in the last examination are to be given 120,000 cash."

5. Deals with the rites for those who die without sons.

6. "The whole *tsu* is forbidden to drown girl infants. No matter whether the family be rich or poor, within one month of the birth of a girl it should be reported to the head of the *fang*. Those who have more than sixty *mon* of land and drown their daughter, upon deliberation, are to be fined 20,000 cash. They should be called to the ancestral hall and administered 80 strokes. Those who have thirty *mon* and drown their daughter, upon deliberation are to be fined 1600 cash. When a daughter is born to those who have only a few *mon*, or no land at all, the ancestral hall is to give them two *tan* a year. When a second daughter is born to those who have from several to ten *mon* and some extra property, the ancestral hall is also to give them two *tan*. Any one (of these) who drowns a daughter is, as soon as discovered, fined 10,000 cash. The head of each *fang* is to make a thorough investigation every month. If all (the families) join in hiding the facts, they are to be punished together in order to enforce the rule."

7. "The income in grain and money from the four localities of T'ien-tang-wan, Ch'uan-shang, Lo-chia-wu and Chih-kuan-ting are to be kept as separate funds. Whatever is left after the communal expenses, taxes, the ancestral rites in spring, autumn and winter, the sacrifices at the graves, sacrifices at the old ancestral hall, and repairs of ancestral halls and communal buildings are defrayed, should be calculated after the winter solstice. The heads of the *fang* are to report to the heads of the *bu* how much money remains, so that the use of this money for suppressing the drowning of girls and for encouraging the studies (of young boys) can be deliberated."

APPENDIX 12: THE HEAD OF THE *TSU* OF FAN NEAR WUSIH

This *tsu* is a branch of the Fan in Soochow, descendants of the Sung dynasty scholar Fan Chung-yen who first instituted *i-p'ien*. This *tsu* lives in a small town together with several other *tsu*, with whom they are on very good terms. The Fan form about one half of the population in the town. They own many shops and their members are merchants, gentry, farmers and tenants. This whole region has become industrialized and many new families have arisen within the last generation. The *tsu* of Fan has remained comparatively conservative.

"The head of our *tsu* must be a member of the oldest generation living. He also has to be 'wise,' that is, capable of making decisions. He has little to do with community questions, except in so far as he is consulted on them in private. But when a member of the *tsu* offends against the code of ethics, for example, if he behaves with filial impiety, the head has the right to reprimand him and punish him. Now-a-days his power has decreased considerably, but to this day there is still some fear among the younger people of the admonitions by the head of the *tsu*. Formerly when the daughters of the *tsu* were married out, the head of the *tsu* acted as the head of their family in order to assure them better marriages than the position of their parents warranted. When a family divided its property, the presence and signature of the head was essential to validate it. In the transfer of land the head had to act as the negotiator, and had to affix his signature to the deed. Quarrels between families might be arbitrated by him, but if they were too serious they were taken to the 'head of the town.'

"The head of the administration in the town is the *chên-chang*, or 'head of the

town.' He is always appointed by a small number of the most influential men in the community. After their selection is made, a general election is held which always ends in the appointment of the man of their choice.

"At the ancestral rites all members of the *tsu* participate and the functionaries are not necessarily members of the gentry."

APPENDIX 13: ORGANIZATION OF THE *TSU* OF HU IN HUI-CHOU, SOUTHERN ANHUI

"There are three *tsu* by the name of Hu in Hui-chou.

"1. A *tsu* that has descended from the Hu of Anting* which has produced a number of well-known scholars during the last 300 years.

"2. The *tsu* of Hu surnamed Ming-chin which claims descent from the imperial house of T'ang. When that dynasty fell all who bore the name of Li were in danger. So our ancestor at that time, a scion of the imperial house, changed his name to Hu in order to avoid persecution. That is why we are known as "the Hu changed from Li." However, I have grave doubts concerning this origin of our *tsu*. There are many surnames in Chinese history that have completely disappeared, and to-day we have only a few hundred names for 400,000,000 people. It seems that very often an unimportant family name was exchanged for a name of great prominence at the time, so as to suggest *tsu* affiliation and improve one's chances to succeed in life.

"3. The third *tsu* of the name of Hu is that of a famous general, who, at the end of the Ming dynasty, administered a decisive defeat to the Japanese.

"The *tsu* of Hu (i.e. the branch to which Dr. Hu Shih belongs), numbering some 2000, occupies the village of Shang-ch'uan in the county of Chi-ch'i in the region of Hui-chou in Southern Anhui. We have always been business-men, until the time of my grandfather, who became a scholar. After him my father and father's brothers all studied and took administrative positions."

The six sons of the founder became the ancestors of the six branches of the *tsu*, called *fên*—"parts"—and an ancestral hall was erected to each. At present only three of these branches still have descendants. Each branch is again sub-divided into *fang*—"houses"—the usual name for a sub-division in the *tsu*.

Here, as elsewhere, the head of the *tsu* is the eldest of the oldest surviving generation, and his position is more nominal than real, although he heads the functionaries at the annual ancestral ritual. Each part selects a representative, called *chih-shih*—"manager," or *chih-nien ssü-shih*—"executive of the year." The three men form a committee in charge of the ancestral hall, each one managing the affairs for one year. These individuals are not always from the *shên-shih* (gentry), but they must have ability and experience. Usually they are selected from among the older men, and often have worked away from home. When a problem arises the *chih-shih* of the three *fên* meet with other members appointed by the three *fên* to deliberate on ways to solve it. When some particular project is undertaken, such as the building or repairing of the ancestral hall, more mem-

* Province in Kansu during the Han dynasty.

bers are added to form a special committee, particularly when the project involves the soliciting of funds. In such a case young and able men with education are chosen to make visits to the big cities where members of the community have their businesses.

The manager of the year has to collect the rent from the common land. This rent is paid in rice, which is stored in the *i-ts'ang*, or common granary. Several times a year the manager has to see that it is sunned. This rice is loaned to indigent families of the *tsu*, when necessary. A sum from its proceeds is set aside for subsidies to boys who have to travel far in order to take the civil examinations (under the imperial regime), or to study in the school of the county. The rest of the rice is converted into funds for the ancestral rites and the maintenance of the ancestral hall.

Quarrels and fights are very rare. Fights occur practically only when the family of a woman, incensed about the treatment accorded her by her mother-in-law, come as a group to the residence of the husband to beat up the family and smash their furniture. Very serious cases of misbehavior are taken to the ancestral hall. The "opening of the ancestral hall" is a very serious occasion, for the building remains closed except during the annual ritual. The head of the *tsu* then has to sit in judgment, the managers of the three *fên* and the other *shên-shih* deliberating the case. Cases that are thus taken before the tribunal of the *tsu* consist mainly of moral offenses. When a son maltreats his parents to the point of lifting his hand against them they are held justified in accusing him before the *tsu*. Within the last two generations the only case of an "opening of the ancestral hall" in this village was in connection with an adultery case. Since the village is composed entirely of relatives of the husband's, the crime adds incest to the violation of the wife of a *tsu* member. In the case reported, the culprits had been taken in *flagrante delicto* and the man was "expelled." This means that he was forbidden to take part in the communal ancestral rites, and the tablet bearing his name could not enter the ancestral hall after his death, nor was his name registered in the genealogy. But he was not punished physically or deprived of any property. The woman went free except for some admonitions. Her husband was not present at the trial. His wife may have felt the censure of his relatives, for she soon joined him in Shanghai where he was working.

According to the "Regulations of the Ancestral Hall" the offenses to be punished with "expulsion" as described above are: suicide, adultery, filial impiety, singing and acting on the stage.

When a member of the *tsu* is involved in a quarrel with a person from another village, the case is settled by the leaders of the two communities. The village of Shang-ch'uan is one of five villages which together form Pa-tu. (*Pa* means "eighth," and *tu* is the name for a territorial subdivision of a county common in the lower Yangtze Valley.) On a certain day every year one of the villages organizes a procession or theatricals, which tour all the five communities. This cooperation strengthens the spirit of neighborliness. In quarrels involving the individuals of two of these villages the *shên-shih* of the two communities gather to listen to the statements of the two parties and try to effect a satisfactory settlement. In case the settlement cannot be arrived at, the dispute is taken to court. It has happened frequently that the judge (formerly the magistrate) dismisses the case, advising the accused and the plaintiff to let the *shên-shih* arbitrate it.

Cooperation between the different villages is all the easier since they are all related

by marriage. Of the 2000 individuals in Shang-ch'uan one half must be male. All the women are married from, and the daughters married into, the communities in the neighborhood. Thus, when a young man of a well-to-do family leaves home in a sedan chair, he has to alight before entering the next village, for he must not be carried while his older relatives-in-law walk or stand on the ground.

The *fang* to which Dr. Hu Shih belongs takes its name from an ancestor twelve generations removed. Its ancestral hall is situated in the mountains at a distance of seventy li (or 25 miles) from the village. Since a walk of 25 miles over rough mountain roads was not appealing, rewards were instituted for taking part in the rites at the ancestral hall. We have seen that as a rule the food that has been offered to ancestors is later enjoyed by the participants. Part of the meat is taken home to the family. Now, one ancestor left a small fund from which each participant receives 200 copper cash, nominally as a substitute for the food which cannot be carried home. All the expenses for meals on the way and at the ancestral hall are also borne by the *tsu*.

This annual trip to the ancestral shrine calls for quite a little organization. As all boys above the age of twelve have to attend, the responsibility for taking the young people is shared among the older men. Who is to take care of which boys, when to start, where to take meals on the way, all has to be planned in detail, so that they may be assembled at the destination at the right time.

The next higher ancestor to be remembered is the son of the first ancestor from whom the *fang* is descended. All boys over fourteen years have to pay the annual visit to the ancestral hall dedicated to this ancestor. Although this place is not far each one receives some money as an inducement, which again is phrased as a substitute for the offerings that should be divided among the families. However, the communal meal at the ancestral hall is never omitted.

The ancestral hall dedicated to the first ancestor is administered by the three surviving branches in turn. The regular ritual there is performed at the spring equinox and the winter solstice. Only the head of the *tsu* and those who have acquired degrees at the imperial examinations or otherwise achieved social prominence take part in the rites. These are so complicated that they had to be practiced for some time each year in order to be performed perfectly. Moreover, at the Clear-and-Brightness Festival each branch sends some representatives to perform the ritual for the first ancestor at his ancestral hall which is close to his grave. This takes place on the second or third day of the Festival, since on the date itself the nearer ancestors have to be remembered. At this time the children all enjoy a holiday in the open.

APPENDIX 14: THE MANAGEMENT OF PROPERTY IN THE TSU OF T'AN IN NAN-FENG, KIANGSI

"Further, formerly representatives of each branch used to take turns in holding the office of manager of the ancestral hall. Often this person happened to be one who was not wealthy, so that the ancestral rites were neglected and the taxes were unpaid. The ancestors suffered from hunger, and the *tsu* members were involved in difficulties. After

deliberations in public, it has been decided that from now on the manager of the ancestral hall must be a wealthy person chosen publicly by the whole *tsu*.

"Every year the various kinds of savings and the bills for taxes (from the government) are to be examined and calculated (by the manager of the ancestral hall) in the presence of the members of the *tsu*, so that no criticism may be made. Should the manager prove himself very able, he is to be allowed to continue in the administration (of the funds) and need not be changed every year. Should a person who is not well-to-do struggle to obtain the office of manager, the members of the *tsu* are to indict him.

"The manager of the common granary must be a wealthy man, chosen publicly by the members of the *tsu*. He, too, has to render an account every year of the income and savings, so that the members may all know of it.

"The rice stored at the common granary is to guard against famine, and the post of manager should be filled by a wealthy man, but should not be held concurrently by the manager of the ancestral hall. In case no such wealthy person can be found for the management (of the granary), it is permissible that the manager of the ancestral hall administer his duties. Yet the funds are to be kept separate and the rice in the granary is not to be used for the ancestral hall."

APPENDIX 15: CHANGES IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE *TSU* OF T'AN IN NAN-FENG, KIANGSI

The *tsu* of T'an had been settled in Nan-fêng before 1423, this being the date of the first edition of their genealogy. Originally they had been divided into eighteen parts which took turns in managing the affairs of the ancestral hall and the *i-t'ien*. In time the system was found impractical, because the interval between the terms of office of the representative of any one "part" was too long, so that the new manager every year found himself quite unfamiliar with the common lands and the tenants. The latter became tricky and the rent decreased. Readjustments were made, but finally a complete reorganization could not be avoided. The different branches had developed very differently: some flourished and continually increased in membership, while others declined and decreased in numbers. Economically, too, the several "parts" became differentiated, and some of them were not able to carry the responsibilities of management (see App. 19). So the *tsu* was reorganized into seven subdivisions for the purpose of providing a manager. The one "part" that had developed far beyond all the others constituted five of the subdivisions, that is, different families of this "part" ran the affairs of the *tsu* for five out of every seven years.

APPENDIX 16: SOCIAL CLASSES IN THE *TSU* OF T'AN

The *tsu* of T'an in Nan-fêng, Kiangsi, emphasizes the status of the men who possess an education and have held offices. Some among them are very wealthy. One individual in a high government position committed a grave crime. His property, when confiscated, amounted to 10,000 *mon*.

Here all the members of the *tsu* who have an education are compelled to attend the annual rites for the ancestors. On each of these occasions 22 functionaries take part and all of them must belong to the *shên-shih*, chosen according to their rank as officials, not according to the degree they obtained in the civil examinations. The rest of the *tsu* have no responsibilities or duties.

According to an old custom the meat used at the sacrifices has to be distributed to all the families. In this *tsu* money is given as a substitute. An ordinary person is entitled to one catty (0.597 kg.) of meat, calculated at 16 copper cash. Any *shên-shih* who attends the ritual receives the equivalent of 2 to 8 catties of meat, on top of his ration as an ordinary member, the exact amount graded according to the degree he achieved in the examinations. Naturally the functionaries receive even more. Old men, too, receive an equivalent of an extra half catty when they have passed their 65th year. Every five years they are entitled to an additional half a catty per year, even if they should attain the age of one hundred. All able-bodied men must appear at the ancestral hall at dawn on the day when the ritual is held. Each one greets the ancestors with a kowtow and then receives the money. If he lives at a distance he may be excused for being late; however, if he arrives later than breakfast-time he forfeits his portion. As an ordinary individual he has no further part in the ancestral rites. Meanwhile, the participants in the ritual, which takes place at dawn, have passed the night in the ancestral hall. At the end of the rites all of these, that is, all the *shên-shih* in the *tsu*, participate in a big feast, which the old men are also allowed to attend. Originally only those over eighty years in age were regarded as qualified. Later the age was lowered to 76, finally to 66 years. All younger men, except those who had passed the civil examinations, are excluded.

In this *tsu* only the tablets of members who have held rank as officials and of those who had at least passed the examination for the second degree are admitted free of charge. All others have to pay 50 ounces of silver for the privilege. But at a time when money was needed for repairs of the ancestral hall, the entrance fee for the tablets was lowered to \$10. The denomination of the currency shows that this took place in modern times. The leaders of the *tsu* made it clear that the change was only a temporary expedient. The central room in the ancestral hall is reserved for the first ancestor, another ancestor who held a high position at court, and also individuals whose sons, holding some official position of at least the fourth or fifth rank, have made a large contribution towards the acquisition of ritual land. Also, a boy's name is not entered in the register of members until his family has paid one half ounce of silver.

APPENDIX 17: THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TSU OF WANG IN T'UNG-CH'ENG, ANHUI

"Set up a *tsung-tzŭ*. When the *tsu* grows large and passes through many generations, the members are many. Then the affairs of the family (meaning the *tsu*) are hard to manage, and a *tsung-tzŭ* must be set up to head it. Therefore there is the difference between the large *tsung* and the small *tsung*. The large *tsung* is the eldest son of the eldest *fang* in the whole *tsu*. The small *tsung* is the head of a *fang*. The important affairs of the whole *tsu* are administered by the *tsung-tzŭ*. However, only a person whose ability

and virtue are both high can fulfill these duties. Should he be an upright man of no ability, he is to be assisted by the head of the *tsu*. Should the head of the *tsu* show himself too severe in administering justice, only the *tsung-tzŭ* may remonstrate and interfere. His words are not to be left unheeded, because his generation is late. . . .

"Elect the head of the *tsu*. The head of the *tsu* is the most respected man in the whole *tsu*. The choice is to be limited to the most respected (that is, earliest) generation, so that in the whole *tsu* there should be no one whose position is higher. Also, he need not belong to the eldest line, and cannot be compared with the *tsung-tzŭ*. The head of the *tsu* must be a man of ability and virtue, regardless of the prestige of his branch, and must be chosen by the whole *tsu*. He is to be asked to head the ritual and to administer the affairs of the family. Only a man with an official rank and of ability, who administers the affairs with justice, may receive the appointment.

"Whenever there is an evil-doer or a violator of the law in the *tsu*, he is to be called to the ancestral hall together with the head of the *tsu*, the heads of the *fang* and the rest of the *tsu*, so that justice may be exercised and the culprit sentenced according to the law. In case any man in the *tsu* relies on obstinacy and craftiness, or when outsiders cheat or insult anyone, the *tsu* members are to join in denouncing them in front of the authorities. Single individuals must not be implicated."

APPENDIX 18: QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE LEADER OF THE ANCESTRAL RITUAL

"Among the common people the temple of the first ancestor is always called the *tsung-tz'u*, for all the members of the *tsu* may use it. The person who leads the ritual according to the custom of the country (in the sense of rural communities), is the *tsu-chang* (head of the *tsu*). The *tsu-chang* may be a commoner. If the *tsu* is one in which all are commoners, then in offering to the ancestors the products of the season, they naturally should follow the *li* of the commoners, and it is all right if the *tsu-chang* leads the ritual. Should the *tsu* comprise scholars and officials among its members, those scholars and officials who are at home must not fail to attend the rites for the first ancestor. If one of these takes part, and the ritual still follows the *li* of the commoners, it means that he is keeping his salary for his private use and has no regard for his ancestors. If he uses his salary to perform the rites to the ancestors, and yet lets the *tsu-chang* overstep his privileges and lead them, this is debasing the salary of the government and serving the ancestors falsely. Li Wen-chêng-kung of An-ch'i changed the ritual for the first ancestor according to the trend of the times, and let a person who had obtained a rank and a salary from the government head the ritual, with the *tsung-tzŭ* standing on the left and the executive of the year on the right. The *chu* (reader of the address to the ancestors) also adds his name in the address to the ancestors of the *tsung*. . . . But in my humble opinion, when a *tsu* has grown for a long time, the eldest line often lacks an heir. If it should have one, he will still be among the commoners. How can he perform the rites of a scholar-official? As to the executive of the year, who is to know what kind of a person he is. . . . Frankly, my humble opinion is that, if a scholar-official residing at his old home does not take part in the ancestral ritual, no more need be said. If he does

participate in the ritual for the first ancestor, then he must use his income to sacrifice to him. If he uses his income for the rites, then he must himself lead the rites, so that the ancestors, though they be far removed, may yet be bathed in the bounty of the Emperor for many generations. After the ritual has been completed, when the communal banquet is to be partaken of and the sacrificial meal distributed he should honor the head of the *tsu*. Then the high and the low, the old and the young are all to drink to each other according to their standing. In this way, though the head of the *tsu* be a commoner, he still may, together with the members of his *tsu*, bathe in the imperial bounty at the temple. Thus, the ritual is performed to show respect for the ruler, at the same time as respect for the ancestors, and also demonstrates affection for the *tsu*."

". . . It might be asked: In one *tsu* there may be more than one scholar-official. Which one is suitable for leading the ritual? The answer is: The one highest in rank and in salary should lead it. If there are several of equal rank and salary, then the one belonging to the oldest generation is to lead it. It might be asked: Should an official lose his position and live at home, is he to head the ritual? My answer is: An official who loses his position is ranked with the commoners, so he also is a commoner. If he is dismissed from office, but retains his former functions, then he is to conduct the affairs of the ancestral hall according to the rank belonging to these functions.* Again it might be asked: Should a person have committed a moral offense without losing his position, can he, too, lead the ritual? The answer is: If the offense be slight, the government does not prosecute him, and the ancestors will not disavow him. Why should he not lead the ritual? If he commits a grave offense, though he escape the law, the ancestors will not consider him a descendant. The members of the *tsu* should not rank themselves with him. How can he dare to have the face to enter the temple doors to carry on the ritual?"

APPENDIX 19: THE ANCESTRAL HALL AND ANCESTRAL RITES IN THE *TSU* OF INFORMANT P (KWANGTUNG)

Every village has some land held in common. The ancestral hall of our *tsu* is a big one and is visited by all the villages of my surname in this neighborhood. However, we live a little apart, and a visit there takes too much time. So we have erected our own ancestral hall. Together with the ritual land, it is managed by two persons elected by the villagers. Some of the income from the ritual land is used for the public school located in the ancestral hall. In our village two scholarships have been instituted with this money for the best pupils in the school. The two persons responsible for the public fund and the ancestral hall must have the confidence of all villagers, but they need not be the oldest people in the village.

The ancestral temple also serves as the community house where communal problems are discussed and elections held, and is the boys' house for the village.

The ancestral rites are performed by the *tsu* on the 15th of the 1st month, and the 15th of the 6th month. On these occasions whole chickens and large pieces of pork are

* As a punishment an official may be deprived of the title and privileges that go with his position, while being allowed to carry on the duties.

offered, which later are divided among the families of the village. At the same time incense and ritual money is burned.

On the 3rd of the 3rd month the whole village goes to the graves of the ancestors. Since we have been in the village for only 50 years, our early ancestors are buried in our parent village. The grave of the earliest ancestor is the biggest of all, since all his descendants have contributed to it. Each family first visits the graves of the nearer ancestors with offerings. One of the next days is chosen for a visit to the grave of the first ancestor by the whole village. This is the occasion for a big feast when the offerings are divided among the different families who contributed.

On the 7th day after the burial of a person his or her soul is called back and a tablet set up in the central hall with the name inscribed on it thus "The place of the spirit of so-and-so." On the 1st and 15th of every month the family remembers its ancestors by burning incense in front of their tablets.

APPENDIX 20: THE GENEALOGY OF THE TSU OF INFORMANT T IN CHEKIANG

There are several genealogies of our *tsu* in existence. The old genealogy gives the stories of the early ancestors from the Ming dynasty down, the names of all members in the *tsu* and their descendants. Then there is a chapter on the tombs of the ancestors, and another in which are collected the most important literary achievements of members of the *tsu*. Some thirty years ago a revision became necessary. People had been saying that we must be related to another *tsu* by the same surname in Fukien. We heard so much of these rumors that a number of discussions on the subject took place at meetings in the ancestral hall. Finally it was decided to send someone to Fukien and make an investigation on the spot. None in my *tsu* had much enthusiasm for a scheme that would cost a good deal of money, particularly as bonds within the *tsu* were loosening under modern influences. However, one individual promised to give the money and see the plan through. Then one member was dispatched, taking several assistants with him, and also all of the family records, pictures and genealogical tables in our possession. For several months he stayed with the other T family in Fukien, comparing carefully the records of the two *tsu*. As a result it was demonstrated that we indeed were descended from the same ancestor in the Sung dynasty as the other family. The news was received with much rejoicing at our home, for by tracing back our ancestry to a high minister in the Sung dynasty we had added a good deal of prestige to our pedigree. A copy was made of the portrait of that first ancestor and brought back together with copies of documents proving our descent from the Sung ancestor.

Before our emissary left the T family in Fukien a feast was held at which our two *tsu* were sworn together, so that henceforth we called members of our own generation in the other *tsu* by the term for "brother." When the picture of the first ancestor arrived in our village, a huge feast was given for everyone and anyone who came, regardless of his family affiliation, and no matter whether he was rich or poor. A great number of firecrackers were set off to greet the ancestor's arrival. The latest edition of our genealogy was printed in 1936. It not only traced back our descent to the Sung dynasty, but also

added pictures of ancestors and photos of their tombstones. This is the first time that a genealogy has made use of photography.

APPENDIX 21: CLAIMS TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE *TSU* OF WU IN WU-CHIN, KIANGSU

"When the present edition of the genealogy was being compiled in the 12th year of the Republic (1923), we placed an advertisement in the newspapers asking for information (concerning members whose tracks had been lost). Wu (so-and-so) . . ., Wu (so-and-so) . . . etc. wrote to ask to be allowed to return to the *tsu*. It is regretted that at the time it was not possible to examine their claims. It is difficult also to determine by conjecture whether they are descendants in the direct line. In the future, should more letters be received, or should an individual come to the ancestral hall to voice his claim, the matter should be attended to with great care, so that no one may be omitted."

APPENDIX 22: KEEPING A RECORD OF THE MEMBERSHIP IN THE *TSU* OF WU IN WU-CHIN, KIANGSU

"When the work of compiling the present genealogy will have been completed, in order to make possible inquiries into the circumstances of the members of each *fang* and each branch (*chib*), and in order to obtain information on the changes in residence of members of the *tsu* who live at the old home and those who live away from home, a registration book for present members is to be specially instituted, which is to be drawn up once a year.

"Each year the members of each *fang* and each branch are to fill in in full the present circumstances of all present members according to the form given below, and hand this report to the Registration Office for Present Members at the ancestral hall of the eldest line.

"This registration blank is given out by the Ancestral Hall of the Eldest Line. It has been decided that the circumstances and changes among present members are to be reported to the Registration Office of the Ancestral Hall of the Eldest Line before the winter solstice. Reports that are handed in late are to be left for the next year."

APPENDIX 23: THE NECESSITY OF HAVING A DESCENDANT (The *TSU* of Wu in Wu-Chin, Kiangsu)

Po-hsin-kung, 15th descendant generation of Ch'ing-t'ien-kung (first ancestor of the *tsu*), lived as an emigrant in Chekiang province. His 3rd generation descendant Ch'ing-yüan-kung died as a visitor in a strange place. His descendants have not been ascertained. According to the rule of genealogies, the main line must not be without successor, and particularly so when he has been an official of fame. So the 19th generation

descendant Nien-ê, whose generation-status is appropriate, has been chosen to be set up as the successor to Ch'ing-yüan-kung. Three *mu* of land are to be set aside from the possessions of the ancestral hall of that branch for the expenses of the ritual. If in the future the direct descendants should return to the *tsu*, their names are to be added in order to stress the "blood-descent line."

APPENDIX 24: HALF-MONTHLY MEETINGS

"Every month, on the 10th and 25th, all the older and younger people of our *fang* should assemble at sunset. Each should recount what he has heard. This may consist of (instances of) virtue worthy of being imitated, or vice to be guarded against; or they may be (examples of) industry to be encouraged, or of indolence whose avoidance is to be encouraged; or acts of 'duty' that it would be right to carry out; or matters that should be attended to. Each one is to comment on it according to his own lights, all bending their ears to listen to him. He is to view his own conduct in the light of what he sees and hears, and is to be encouraged to examine it (i.e. his conduct). This is the mutual encouragement of virtues, and the mutual dissuasion from crimes (faults and vices).

"These meetings are to be organized in turn (by the heads of different families). The matters of who is to arrange a meeting and what the date is to be should be determined in advance. Should there happen to be some (other) matter on that day, the next day can be substituted. The organizer of the meeting should only serve tea, but should not prepare wine. If on this day a person should have to take part in the performance of some ancestral rites, or in the entertainment of visitors, or in some other affair; or if he encounters a severe cold, great heat, or strong storms, he can be excused temporarily. An individual who without good reason does not attend the meeting is harming himself and incriminating himself.

"The meetings ought to be obligatory, but their importance should lie in facilitating the gathering for the purpose of talking over (matters of conduct). They must be held in the early evening, because most people have leisure at this time. They ought not to be held at night. If the members remain sitting up too long, some unexpected mishap might occur."

APPENDIX 25: MATTERS DELIBERATED BY THE *TSU* ASSEMBLY OF THE *TSU* OF HO IN ANHUI

"Whenever some descendant has committed a grave fault, or is involved in a serious lawsuit, and also whenever important public work is to be decided upon by the *tsu*, all are to assemble in the ancestral hall to deliberate the matter in public.

"If a grave fault has been committed, the head of the *fang* notifies the head of the *tsu* and together they punish the offender. When a person is involved in a serious lawsuit, the head of the *tsu* and the head of the *fang* lead the discussion, while the younger members follow suit. If the member of the *tsu* involved in litigations is in the

right, and is being defrauded by outsiders, the *tsu* will join its forces to fight for him. When the *tsu* is undertaking some public work of importance and a person is appointed to service which is not his duty, this is called compulsion. In case of compulsion, a punishment is to be decided (for the person responsible). If one who has the duty of rendering service is yet unable to do so, this is called weakness. In case of weakness a substitute is to be decided upon."

APPENDIX 26: REGULATIONS CONCERNING DISPUTES IN THE TSU OF WANG IN CHÊN-CHIANG, KIANGSU

"When quarrels arise in the *tsu* out of small resentment and disputes about landed property and money debts, the parties are to go to the ancestral hall and hand in a petition. (Then) the matter is to be brought to clarity and resolved in peace. Only when the decision is difficult is it permitted to bring a complaint before the authorities, so that they may examine and decide the case. Should anyone bring action against another person by bypassing the head of the *tsu*, without petitioning him first, this person is to be fined five ounces of silver to be added to the public funds of the ancestral hall.

"Throughout the *tsu* it is forbidden to stir up litigations. When people are angry with each other for a time, it rests with the mediators to arbitrate and bring about a conciliation. There is a kind of person fond of mischief, who takes every chance to instigate lawsuits either to reap benefits for himself or to take personal vengeance, who enjoys calamities and misfortune that strike others, and likes to see both parties fail and sustain damage. The harm he does is not small. Such a person, after his guilt has been ascertained, is to be given thirty strokes."

APPENDIX 27: PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES IN THE TSU OF WANG IN CHÊN-CHIANG, KIANGSU

"Anyone in the *tsu* who becomes a thief, when his crime has been discovered, is to be put in chains. He is to be given forty hard blows and is to be driven out of the ancestral hall. If there is one who becomes a bandit, once his crime is proved true, the whole *tsu* is to join in beating him to death. Should he escape he is to be denounced to the authorities. The whole *tsu* is to act together without mercy.

"If a real case of manslaughter occurs in the *tsu*, the whole *tsu* is to join in denouncing the criminal to the authorities, so that the crime may be judged according to the law. In case of a suicide through hanging or drowning, it is only permitted to go to the ancestral hall, so that the affair may be settled by group action, and the body buried. Thus it is to be made evident that the death occurred through self-destruction. There is no precedent of compensation to be paid. Among the common people it often occurs that the individual revives. Should someone make a false accusation (that is, pretend a relative had been driven to suicide by someone) in order to harm another person, he is to be punished with thirty strokes."

APPENDIX 28: ENCOURAGEMENT AND PUNISHMENT IN THE TSU OF HSÜ IN CHIANG-NING, KIANGSU

"Should there be in this *tsu* persons who have (the virtues of) filial piety, brotherly love, loyalty, friendship, humanitarianism, and gentleness (*li-jang*: giving in to another person), who love virtue and enjoy *i* (performance of duty), who are able to bring glory on the ancestors and to encourage the descendants, then a 'Book of the Virtuous in the *T'su*' is to be instituted at the ancestral hall. Here the events (by which the virtues were demonstrated) are to be listed in detail. Later when the genealogy of the family is revised, these events are to be mentioned under the name of the individual. This is to encourage the moral behavior of the members of the *tsu*.

"If someone in the *tsu* has not committed any wrong for ten years, and never has been punished according to the rules, his name is also to be entered into the 'Book of the Virtuous in the *T'su*' as evidence of his life-long conduct. He is to be given the preference in the choice of a head or assistant head of the *tsu*;

"If there should occur in the *tsu* any attempts at oppression of the young by relying on one's age, at bullying the weak by relying on one's strength, or, worse, should quarrels and fights take place, these cases should be brought before the head of the *tsu*. He is to convene the whole *tsu* to discuss the matter publicly and to settle the matter, so that injuries between 'bone and flesh' (near relatives) or lawsuits that ruin the family may be avoided. If there is an affair in which a member of the *tsu* is right and in which he has been wronged by an outsider, it also has to be told to the head of the *tsu*, so that he may convene the whole *tsu* in support of justice.

"Should there be someone in the *tsu* who offends against the rules of the *tsu* to the extent of incurring fines, after three fines he should be marked for one offense and the circumstance recorded. After a person has been marked three times for offenses, the head of the *tsu* is to give the offender a severe admonishment on the day of the ancestral ritual. After five offenses he is to be flogged (with a bamboo). After ten offenses he is to be expelled from the *tsu*, and his name is not allowed to be in the genealogy."

APPENDIX 29: PUNISHMENT FOR OFFENDERS IN THE TSU OF CH'ENG IN WU-CHIN, KIANGSU

"Anyone in the *tsu* who despoils the ancestral hall; who, relying on his strength, behaves depravedly; who coerces the young and bullies orphans and widows; who as a younger person defies the elder without regard for *li-fa* (rules of *li*), such a person does not keep his ancestors in his mind. He is not allowed to enter the ancestral hall. As to those descendants who will not abide by the rules; who do not fulfill the obligations of their station in life; who mix with crooks and bandits, joining with low-class people without regard for the reputation of the family; these disgrace their ancestors and should be driven out, and should be forbidden to enter the ancestral hall and take part in the ancestral ritual."

APPENDIX 30: PUNISHMENT IN THE *TSU* OF I IN HUPEI

1. "Anyone who commits one of the ten big offenses* according to the criminal code, is to be 'expelled.' "
2. "The head of a family who cannot maintain order in his *chia*, so that his sons commit theft or frequent prostitutes . . . is to be 'expelled.' "
3. "A person who leaves the coffin of his parents unburied and the graves of his ancestors to decay, while erecting buildings for conspicuous display . . . is to be 'expelled.' "
4. "A man who marries a widow in the *tsu*, or marries a servant, and thus confuses the lines of descent and dishonors the ancestors . . . is to be 'expelled.' "
5. "A person who will not carry on his vocation, but gives way to violence and indulges his evil desires, thus ruining his *chia*, wasting his property, and finally ending as a vagabond, dishonors the *tsu* and should be 'expelled.' "
6. "A person who, because of selfish motives discards the valuable institutions of his forbears, disregards the rules of conduct (they instituted), and in consequence causes a calamity, is very unfilial indeed, and should be 'expelled.' "
7. "A son who does not provide a descendant for his father is regarded as terminating the generation; should a grandson (presumably the only son of an only son) lack offspring, the family will be said to be terminated for generations. Although it is said this is the worst filial impiety, the individual is not responsible himself and his name should be listed in the genealogy. Those who become monks and nuns are not to be mentioned."
8. "Those who forget their origin while living with their relatives-in-law, and do not make up their mind to return to their *tsu*, are to be omitted from the genealogy."
9. "Those who are wealthy, yet do not assist their poor relatives within the mourn-

* The Ten Big Offenses according to the Criminal Code of the Ch'ing dynasty are:

1. Rebellion.
 2. Great perversity: destroying temples, tombs and palaces belonging to the emperor.
 3. Treason.
 4. Vicious perversity: beating parents, grandparents and other relatives of the older generation, and parricide.
 5. Unprincipled: Murder of at least three persons in one family without guilt, and murder of friends.
 6. Great disrespect: Theft of articles used in the imperial rites and clothing etc. of the emperor.
 7. Filial impiety: Cursing parents, grandparents etc., neglect of their support etc.
 8. Unfriendliness: Conspiring to kill or sell relatives up to the fifth mourning degree.
 9. Nonrighteousness: Killing of administrative officials by the people under their jurisdiction; killing of officers by their soldiers.
 10. Incest.
- (Abbreviated)

ing degrees of five months to one year, so that these cannot celebrate funerals and weddings properly, are to be omitted, even though their conduct otherwise may be proper."

10. "A woman who has a son and yet remarries fails in her duty. Still her name may be listed, so that her son may know by whom he was born. Should she have no son, she is to be 'expelled.' "

11. "A woman who, aside from the seven offenses that lead to divorce, disregards the *li-fa* (rules of *li*), that is, if she troubles and annoys the elders, maltreats the young, sows discord between 'bone-and-flesh' (family members), and starts quarrels with the neighbors, should be divorced. But if she does not misbehave too flagrantly, it is all right to leave her name. If she has no son, she should be 'expelled.' "

12. "One who has committed offenses punishable by 'expulsion,' is ousted and not included in the *tsu*. His name is not entered in the genealogy. If among his sons and grandsons there are some wise and virtuous ones, who bring glory upon their ancestors for two to three generations, after investigation of their lines of descent, the *tsu* is allowed to show mercy and take them back into the genealogy. . . . Should the father, grandfather or other ascendants of the offender at any time have brought benefits to the ancestors (that is, the *tsu*), then these merits and virtues should be discussed. The person editing the genealogy should consult with the elders and the head of the *tsu*, weigh the extent of the crimes and deliberate the question whether the guilty party is to be expunged from the genealogy or not. This has to be decided by taking into account all circumstances. No hard and fast rule can be laid down beforehand."

APPENDIX 31: DISCIPLINE IN THE *TSU* OF T'AN IN NAN-FENG, KIANGSI

1. Unfilial sons are to be administered 40 strokes with the big bamboo board.
2. Anyone insulting the older generation is to be administered 30 strokes with the same.
3. Gambling, drinking, and the appropriation of another's property by violence is to be punished with 40 strokes.
4. Any elder, asked to arbitrate a quarrel, should do so impartially. If he makes use of his position to oppress the younger people, he is to be punished according to the circumstances.
5. A person who buries a relative without making known the exact location is to be fined 4 ounces of silver.
6. Any person who has committed a crime should be "expelled," so that he cannot contaminate the other members of the *tsu*. Whoever protects such a person is fined 4 ounces of silver to be paid to the ancestral hall.
7. Anyone who has no feeling for his fellow-members of the *tsu* and does not live in harmony with them, is to be fined 2 ounces to be paid to the ancestral hall.
8. Anyone who defiles the ancestral hall by sunning his rice or hemp there, or by letting his pigs and chicken run around there, is fined 2 ounces of silver and his property in the ancestral hall is to be confiscated.
9. Participants in the ancestral ritual have to keep their places. Lookers-on should

remain quiet. Noises by children should be avoided. For any such irregularities, the father or elder brother of the offender is fined one ounce of silver.

10. Articles belonging to the ancestral hall are not to be sold by the functionaries. Many objects have become lost because the manager lent them out. If such a loan is detected, regardless of whether the article has been lost or not, the borrower is to give one ounce to the ancestral hall.

If anyone has committed an offense against his elders, his father or elder brother should beat the drum in the ancestral hall. The person in charge of the building for the month is to call together all the members of the *tsu* by beating a gong. All gather at the home of the offender. He must be reprimanded according to the law. The regulations are not to be regarded as empty words and no favoritism is to be shown in passing sentence on the guilty party.

Should the offender resist the execution of the sentence, the members of the *tsu* are to bring action against him by the authorities and ask that he be punished severely.

APPENDIX 32: INJUNCTIONS FOR THE *TSU* OF HUANG IN CHIANG-TU, KIANGSU

The following actions are to be taken by the *tsu* in a spirit of righteousness:

1. "A descendant who misbehaves and is degenerate, thus dishonoring the ancestors, and who conducts himself in every way contrary to ethical precepts, is to be punished by the whole *tsu* in a spirit of righteousness.

2. "A descendant who relies on violence to offend the elders, and in every way behaves fiercely without the least kindness, is to be reprimanded by the whole *tsu* in a spirit of righteousness.

3. "A descendant who truly is contented with his lot, and, without reason, is maltreated or oppressed, or is involved by false charges, is to be sustained by the whole *tsu* in a spirit of righteousness.

4. "A descendant who, holding to his principles, resolutely bends his mind to the attainment of his aim in the direction of the good, yet lacks the means to do so, is to be aided by the whole *tsu* in a spirit of righteousness."

Prohibitions for the *tsu* are as follows:

1. "It is forbidden to remain in arrears in paying taxes.
2. "It is forbidden to set the (bad) example of loaning out money.
3. "It is forbidden to give one's house or fields as security for a loan.
4. "It is forbidden to buy the 'round and the square' (this appears to be a gambling game).

5. "It is forbidden to become intoxicated and engage in brawls."

APPENDIX 33: RULES REGARDING PUNISHMENT BY OMISSION FROM THE GENEALOGY IN THE *TSU* OF YANG IN ANHUI

"A man who disgraces his ancestors, or one whose offenses are well-known, even though he is not tried in court, is to have his name omitted from the genealogy. If such

a person should have a son, it should be mentioned under the names of his parents: their grandson is so-and-so. Again under the name of the son of the criminal, it is to be noted: his mother was so-and-so. His birth-dates should be correctly stated. If the mother of the son is dead, the date of her death and the place of burial are to be noted to show her moral character. The manifest evil deeds of the man are to be borne by himself. 'Crime is not visited on a person's wife and child'; what does the wife have to do with his misdeeds? Should she help her husband in his crimes, her name is to be omitted. A person wrongly accused, though he be punished severely by the court, is really not at fault, and his name is to be recorded in full.

"A person who sells land that contains the graves of his ancestors to a person of a different surname, and one who sells the genealogy of the *tsu* to an outsider, are both unfilial and their names should be omitted. If their errors are small, they are to be disregarded."

APPENDIX 34: CONCERNING *I-T'IENT*

"In ancient times the truth is that those that had steady property had a steadfast heart. To-day the truth is that those who have a steadfast heart have steady property. Should a person lack a steadfast heart, if he is given too little, it will prove insufficient for his needs; if he is given much, he will be given to luxuries and knows no bounds. In extreme cases the property is sold before it has brought returns. Reduced to hunger and cold, he becomes reckless and there is no deed he may not commit.

"The system of *i-t'ien* makes the land the public property of the *tsu*, yet members of the *tsu* are not to own it (individually). Actually they each have a share in it, but nominally it is not theirs. Though it is not their property, they can pass it on to their descendants. From generation to generation the *i-Pien* can be used to relieve the distress of people and to bring the expedient measures to success.

"Formerly the *tsu* of Ch'ên lived widely scattered. Those living far apart on meeting did not recognize each other. Since the *i-t'ien* has been established, the *tsu* meets once a month. In case of sickness and death it rarely happens that they do not inquire about each other. In case of marriage of a son or daughter it rarely happens that they do not tell each other about the event. The wise and virtuous ones consider the acceptance of rice a humiliation. The unwise ones feel it as a depreciation of their prestige not to be given any."

APPENDIX 35: CONCERNING THE *I-TS'ANG*

"The purpose of the ancient kings was to benefit their people. Later the policy was to benefit the state. When the property of the state is given out to the people it is still for making a profit. The multitude of regulations and the exhaustiveness of the investigations are utilized by the minor officials to pursue corrupt practices. The oppression and obstructions that accompany the handing out and the taking in (of the rice) all afflict the people.

"Sometimes the authorities have no extra stores, so they ask the people to bring

forward their own grain, yet the authorities still are entrusted with its administration, and the abuses remain as they were before.

"Thus I have always maintained that the system of the *i-ts'ang* is the only good policy. Yet it is essential that it be run by the people, not by the government. Then it will be useful."

APPENDIX 36: THE *I-CHUANG* INSTITUTED BY FAN CHUNG-YEN

The *i-chuang* of the *tsu* of Fan in Soochow was instituted by the statesman and scholar Fan Chung-yen (989-1052 A.D.) in the Sung dynasty. This was the earliest attempt at setting up common property for the benefit of the *tsu*.

In the beginning the *i-chuang* was composed of 4,000 *mon* of land in the present district of Wu, Kiangsu, Fan Chung-yen having given all his property toward the realization of the long-cherished ideal to assist his fellow members in the *tsu*. Two years before his death he drew up the regulations that were to govern the institution. In the following years the *i-chuang* did not thrive, because many members of the *tsu* did not want to abide by the regulations, and made free with the common property. Hence in 1069, Fan Chung-yen's son, Shun-jên, after reorganizing it, petitioned the throne to instruct the local authorities to take cognizance of the regulations of the *i-chuang* and to give them the backing of the law. These regulations were inscribed on a stone to perpetuate them.

Between this date and A.D. 1210 eleven amendments and additions to the original set of regulations were drawn up by the descendants of the founder, revealing the difficulties and abuses developed in the operation of the *i-chuang*. Within a hundred years from the death of the founder the property had deteriorated considerably. The common residence had been devastated during the wars that led to the removal of the capital of the Sung dynasty from Kaifeng in Honan to Hangchow in Chekiang. The *tsu* itself had been dispersed and the buildings were occupied by strangers. The granary had been removed to an ordinary house. In consequence the distribution of rice and subsidies to the members of the *tsu* suffered from many malpractices. In 1195 the fifth generation descendants of the founder recovered the original site of the common residence and reorganized the *i-chuang*. The regulations were revised and additions made, and again the central government was petitioned to uphold these regulations and to punish offenders.

At the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty (17th century) a good part of the land belonging to the *i-chuang* became lost. Only 1300 *mon* of the original 4000 were left. The ritual land of 1300 *mon* instituted by a descendant of Fan Chung-yen also was privately sold by dishonest guardians. So, in 1643, and again in 1729, members of the *tsu* twice contributed 100 *mon* of land to the *i-chuang*, but it was not till 1737 that its buildings were renovated and the old regulations enforced once more.

The regulations that follow are a free and abridged translation. The order of the original has been changed, items of similar import being grouped together, giving their respective dates.

The honorific posthumous name of Fan Chung-yen, Wên-chêng-kung, is used in

several instances. The "Seat of Wên-chêng" may refer to the head of the *tsu*, acting as the successor of Fan Chung-yen in matters of *tsu* discipline, a custom that has not been recorded of any other *tsu*. There is another possibility: in one account of the ancestral hall in the *i-chuang* honoring the founder, it is stated that in 1346 this ancestral hall was turned into a college. The head of the ancestral hall then became concurrently the head of the college. It may be the office of this individual which is designated as "Seat of Wên-chêng."

REGULATIONS

1. *Those who are to be assisted.*

- A.D.1050 a) All male and female members of the *tsu*, beginning with the age of five, receive the monthly rice allowance.
 b) Each family is given a rice allowance for one servant.
 c) Members of the *tsu* who have held official positions, but remain at home awaiting another appointment or while mourning for a parent, are to receive the monthly rice allowance and material for clothes but no other subsidies.
 d) Neighbors and relatives-in-law in distressed circumstances may be helped if the families of the *tsu* agree upon consultation.
- A.D.1098 e) Within two months of the birth of an infant, whether male or female, its name, the surname of its mother, and its rank in order of birth are to be reported to the *i-chuang*.
- A.D.1107 f) The rice allowance may not be given to an adopted son from another *hsing*. Such cases are to be reported to the "Seat of Wên-chêng" and the authorities are asked to punish the offender for obtaining rice on false pretenses.
- A.D.1113 g) Anyone living away from home, who fraudulently reports the birth of a child in order to obtain an extra rice allowance, when detected by the manager and the members of the *tsu*, is to be reported to the "Seat of Wên-chêng." The latter is then to bring action against him by the local authorities.
- A.D.1210 h) If a member of the *tsu* adopted by another *hsing* dissipates all the property of that family, and then expects to be taken back into our *tsu* and to be given a rice allowance, the manager is to report the case to the "Seat of Wên-chêng." Such an individual should not receive the monthly allowance.

2. *The monthly rice allowance.*

- A.D.1050 a) A person is allowed one *shêng* (or 1.0355 liter) per day, all in white rice. If given unhulled rice, 10 parts of such rice are to be calculated as 8 parts of white rice.
 b) In famine years only rice allowance is handed out, on other subsidies. In years of plenty the *i-chuang* is to store enough rice for two years.
- A.D.1098 c) A person is not permitted to leave his allotment to accumulate for several months at the *i-chuang* and take it out all at once.
 d) No one is to demand extra allotments of rice.

3. *Subsidies.*

- A.D.1050 a) Clothing: Every winter each person is to receive one bolt of clothing. Those between the age of 5 and 10 are to receive one half of this ration.
- b) For the marriage of a daughter a man is to receive 30 strings of cash. For a second marriage, that is, marriage of a second daughter, her father is to be given 20 strings.
- c) A man taking a wife is given 20 strings of cash. For his second marriage he receives none.
- d) Funeral subsidies vary according to the age of the dead. For those under 7 years of age no subsidies are given.
- A.D.1073 e) Education: Encouragement of education: 10 strings of cash are given to each person who tries to pass the examination for the second degree. If he tries to pass for a second time, only one half of the amount is to be handed to him.
- f) Education: Two members who are qualified are to be chosen for the instruction of children of members. They are to be maintained by the *i-chuang*.
- A.D.1210 g) Since the prices are very high, students travelling to the provincial capital for their examination are to be given 100 strings of cash. The loss of this money is to be made up by even deductions from the rice allowances of all families in the *tsu*.

4. *The land and other property of the i-chuang.*

- A.D.1083 a) Members of the *tsu* are not to rent any land from the *i-chuang*.
- A.D.1095 b) The *i-chuang* may not buy land from members of the *tsu*, or receive it in mortgage.
- A.D.1098 c) Members of the *tsu* are not allowed to take possession of or to hold meetings in the *i-ts'ang*, the common granary.
- d) If the buildings of the *i-chuang* are in a poor condition those who live there are to repair them. It is forbidden to demolish or move any building. If this happens the manager is to indict the offender in front of the authorities, so that they may be punished. Should someone wish to erect buildings within the confines of the common residence of the *tsu*, he may do so.
- e) Labor, carts, boats, or objects belonging to the *i-chuang* may not be borrowed by the members.
- A.D.1106 f) The money received in redemption of a mortgage of some land is to be used only for the acquisition of more land by mortgage or purchase. Should it be used for any other purpose, the manager is required to refund it.
- A.D.1115 g) The members of the *tsu* are not allowed to rent out or mortgage the buildings or rooms of the common residence to one another.
- A.D.1210 h) In recent years some people have taken land by force from the tenants of the *i-chuang* in order to cultivate it themselves, or they have ruined the canals serving the irrigation of the fields of the *i-chuang*, planting water caltrop plants there, and preventing the tenants from pumping water.

Should anyone offend again in this way, the rice allowance of his whole family is to be withheld for half a year.

- i) Unruly members of the *tsu* have been selling property belonging to tenants of the *i-chuang* at a good profit. Any such conduct is to be punished by withholding the rice allowance for the whole family for two months, and the authorities are to be asked to deal with the offender.
- j) Some members of the *tsu*, thinking solely of their own profit, have been seizing the unhulled rice of the tenants, forcing them to make up the weight of the chaff with extra rice (presumably these persons were acting as if collecting rent for the *i-chuang*). Other evil-intentioned members of the *tsu*, in the guise of porters and grave guardians, and inducing *tsu* members from other parts to assist them, have forced some elder of the *tsu* to open the common granary, and have appropriated rice for their personal use. Such an intrusion manifests the intent to destroy the *i-chuang*. If such a case occurs again, the manager is to report to the "Seat of Wên-chêng," who, upon investigation, is to punish the whole family by withholding its rice allowance for one year. Further action against the culprit is to be brought before the authorities.
- k) The common residence has been in the hands of outsiders for a long time. At present great difficulties are encountered in restoring the property of the *tsu*. The intention of Wên-chêng-kung that the residence serve as an assembly-place for the *tsu* should be respected, and *tsu* members are not to use the land for erecting private dwellings. Anyone who offends against this rule is to be punished by withholding the rice allowance of his family for one year. Also the land has to be returned.

5. Graves of ancestors and temples.

- A.D.1210 a) Should any member of the *tsu* dare to graze his sheep near the graves of the four ancestors (giving names of four important ancestors), or to cut fuel there, the guardian of the graves is to report it to the "Seat of Wên-chêng," and the rice allowance for the whole family is to be withheld for one year.
- b) The T'ien-p'ing-kung-tê Temple is the place where, upon petition by Wên-chêng-kung, the members of the *tsu* are permitted to remember the *fu** left to them by the ancestors. Recently many distant descendants, after receiving their rice allotment, have been encroaching upon the property and privileges of the temple. They go so far as to cheat and oppress the head monk, drive out the monks, borrow the boat, make use of the services of servants of the temple, cut wood in its groves, by force take possession of the land given to the head monk and cultivate it without paying rent. From now on an offense of this kind is to be punished by withholding the rice allowance of the whole family of the culprit for two months. In case the lands of the

* *Fu* means here good luck that has accrued to the descendants because of the virtues of the ancestors.

temple are occupied or the monks annoyed, the rice allowance of the family is to be withheld for one year. The authorities are to see to it that the property is to be restored to the head monk. After this is completed a report is to be made to the "Seat of Wên-chêng," and only after an order to the effect has been received from him is the rice allowance to the family to be restored.

6. *Management of the i-chuang.*

- A.D.1050 a) Each family is given an account-book to be presented every month when rice is demanded from the manager. No rice is given in advance. The manager also keeps a book with the record of the persons in each family.
- b) If the manager uses the rice for his own benefit, or tries to give rice to other people (aside from the allowances), the families of the *tsu* are to investigate and force him to return the embezzled amount.
- A.D.1083 c) If the manager is dishonest, or the members of the *tsu* borrow money or rice from the *i-chuang*, they are to be indicted before the authorities, and to be punished by the latter.
- d) The manager is to receive as salary 20 *tan* (1 *tan* = 103.55 liter) of unhulled rice annually, if during the year all members have received their full allotments without fail. If the members of the *tsu* have received regular allotments for at least half a year, he is to be given 10 *tan*, or more, but the members of the *tsu* have to certify for him. If they are not able to certify for the manager, their reasons must be stated to the "Seat of Wên-chêng."
- e) If the retainers of the *i-chuang* are not able to collect the full rent an equal percentage is to be deducted from their rice allowance until they have brought in the full amount. Then the allowance is to be restored, but the deductions are not to be refunded. If they are guilty of abuses, action against them is to be brought before the authorities.
- A.D.1095 f) Though the *i-chuang* be hard-pressed for money, it must not make loans.
- g) All the affairs of the *i-chuang* are to be conducted by the manager. Members of the *tsu*, even elders, are not to interfere. If anyone does, the manager may denounce him before the authorities, and demand his punishment. If the manager is guilty of abuses, members of the *tsu* are to make a statement to that effect to the "Seat of Wên-chêng."
- A.D.1098 h) Each person on receiving his allotment must sign his name. Should the account-book of a beneficiary become irretrievably lost, the manager and members of the *tsu* have to vouch for the loser and make a report to the "Seat of Wên-chêng." After the latter has approved of it, the individual may be issued a new account-book.
- A.D.1210 i) Formerly, when the manager embezzled funds, the case was reported to the authorities and they ordered him to restore the embezzled amount. Since the granary was moved and a new accountant chosen with care, the abuses have stopped. To prevent their reoccurrence, it has been decided that,

should the manager at any time be found guilty of misconduct, the various families of the *tsu* are to expose him in front of the "Seat of Wên-chêng." The latter is then to commission a member of the *tsu* known for his sense of justice to go over the accounts and determine how much is missing. This amount is then to be refunded by withholding the rice allowance for the whole family of the manager. Further, the offender is to be indicted in front of the authorities and he is to be punished by them. But members of the *tsu* are not allowed to start litigation without sufficient reason.

7. *Criminal cases among the members of the tsu.*

A.D.1210 a) If any member of the *tsu* on committing a crime is sentenced to a fine, his rice allowance is to be withheld for one year. Should he commit the same crime again he is to be expelled from membership, and no more rice given to him. If after his expulsion the individual does not change his conduct and proves harmful to virtuous individuals, the *tsu* is to report the case to the "Seat of Wên-chêng," and, according to circumstances, the latter may petition the administration to remove the descendant who is thus dishonoring his ancestors to another locality.

APPENDIX 37: REGULATIONS REGARDING THE *I-CHUANG* OF THE *TSU* OF CHAO IN CH'ANG-SHU, KIANGSU

In 1810 one member of this large *tsu* instituted an *i-chuang* of 1023.76 *mou* of rice land, yielding 903.83 bushels per year; also buildings, a graveyard and a school. This entire property was evaluated at 18,100 ounces of silver.

The *tsu* is divided into two branches descended from two brothers among the early ancestors. The founder of the *i-chuang* belongs to the elder branch.

1. In the ancestral hall of the *i-chuang*, tablets of the ancestors of the elder branch are to be set up. Descendants who come to the *chuang* are to pay their respects to them, "in memory of their origin."

2. 131.81 *mou* of land are set aside for the ancestral rites. The founder gives another 2 *mou* to serve as a burial place for poor relatives, since the original graveyard around the tomb of the first ancestor had become too crowded.

The residence of the first ancestor of the elder branch is converted into a school for children of *tsu* members living in the neighborhood.

3. An apology is offered for discriminating between the two branches. Although they arise from the same origin and should not be differentiated into two groups, the membership is too large and the income too limited to allow an equal distribution.

a) Within the elder branch each individual who is in need receives a monthly allowance of rice: men 7 *shêng*, women 5 *shêng*, young people one half of this amount. Children below the age of seven do not receive anything.

The rice is to be fetched from the *i-chuang* on the first day of the month. People living at a distance receive it once a season. The amount handed out is marked on the account-book held by the beneficiary. Every entry is marked with the seal reading "Given

by the Chao *i-chuang* of K'ai-ch'ing-t'ang." No rice may be taken out in advance, nor may the monthly allowance be left to accumulate, so that untimely demands on the *i-chuang* are avoided. The account-book must not be given as security, thus allowing another person to enjoy the benefit. Nor is it permitted not to transport the rice home (i.e. to transfer it to another individual). Anyone guilty of such offenses is to have his allowance stopped for one season.

b) In the younger branch subsidies are given to destitute families every year. Those composed of five members and more receive 1.5 *ton* (1 *ton* = 10.355 liter) of rice and 1500 cash per family. Those composed of less than five members are given 1 *ton* of rice and 1000 cash per family.

4. All widowers, widows, orphans, and aged people without sons in the *tsu* are given 7 *shêng* of rice a month. Those over 60 years of age are further allowed 14 cash a day for extra food between the 1st of the 10th month and the last day of the 2nd month the following year. Women without children, who are under 60 and capable of weaving, are given 15 catties of cotton in winter for extra expenses, but receive no cash.

5. Orphans without support in the *tsu* receive the same allowance as grown-ups. When they reach the age of nine their potential ability is estimated. Those capable of studying are given 3 ounces of silver annually for their sustenance. If they are living near the private school of the *tsu* they are to study there. Those who are not so well endowed with intelligence are sent to learn a trade, with an annual allowance of 2 ounces of silver for clothing. This money is to be kept for them by near relatives and is continued till the boy is twenty, but the rice allowance goes on even after that age.

The relative who is entrusted with the allowance of the boy is also in charge of bringing him up and caring for him. All his necessary expenses are to be paid by this person, who is not on any pretext to neglect his duties, or to oppress and defraud his ward. In case this rule is transgressed, should the culprit belong to those who require no subsidies, the manager will consult our *i'ang*, and together they will impeach the offender in front of the head of the *tsu*. A meeting will be called in the ancestral hall to deliberate the punishment for showing no respect for the ancestors and for oppressing the orphan.

6. Those families of the *tsu* who are unable to pay the wedding expenses for their sons and daughters are to be given 4 ounces of silver for the betrothal, and 10 ounces for the wedding of a son; 5 ounces for the wedding of a daughter. A man who is an only son, over the age of forty, and without a wife or son, is given 5 ounces of silver for a second marriage. Should he have a son, he is not entitled to this money.

If anyone obtains such subsidies on pretenses, once the fraud is discovered, his monthly rice allowance is withheld according to the amount he has obtained.

7. Anyone in the *tsu* who has the ambition, but lacks the means to take the civil examinations, is to be given assistance. (There follows in detail the amount to be given to students taking different grades of examinations.)

8. Those in the *tsu* who are unable to provide the funeral for a relative are to receive 4 ounces of silver for mourning, and another 4 ounces for the funeral expenses, regardless of the sex of the dead, provided he or she passed the age of twenty. In the case of those below twenty years of age, 2 ounces are paid for mourning and 2 for the funeral

expenses. For those who die young (below the age of 15) no subsidy is given. If the dead is to be buried in the graveyard of the *tsu*, the family receives 500 cash for the cutting of a stone, on which is to be given the generation to which the dead belonged, his name, and those of his wife, sons and daughters. This stone is to be put up in front of the grave. In spring and autumn the manager of the ancestral hall is to go there and burn ritual money and see that the graves are in good shape.

Should a family who have received the money, neglect to carry out the funeral, the amount is to be deducted from their monthly rice allowance.

9. *Tsu* members who own land, those who have some capital to pursue some trade, and those who live away from home, do not receive a monthly allowance. It is also withheld from those who are able to teach and those strong enough to cultivate the ground, as well as those who, having been occupied in a business or having learned a trade, yet lead a lazy life, depending on the monthly allowance to support them. If a person, not content with his position in life, behaves in a way to dishonor the ancestors and bring poverty on himself, his whole family will not receive any allowance. If such a case occurs, on the next 1st or 15th of the month the elders of the *tsu* are to assemble and investigate it. If his guilt is proven, the individual is "expelled" and the verdict posted in the ancestral hall. Should he later repent or should his sons and grandsons show themselves capable, and the members of the *tsu* be willing to guarantee their conduct, the manager is, upon investigation, to give him an allowance according to his needs.

Should a person possess only a very limited amount of property, or, in spite of an occupation teaching or cultivating the ground or trading, still find his income insufficient to provide for his family, he may ask for assistance according to his needs. The manager is then to confer with our *l'ang*, investigate the truth of the assertions of the individual, and decide on how many persons in the family are to receive a monthly rice allowance. No monetary subsidies are to be given in such a case.

If a person was in need at first and later is better off, his monthly rice allowance is to be reduced according to his situation. If the manager neglects to find out the qualification of a person in time, he has to reimburse the amount to the *i-chuang*. Members of the founder's family who are poor receive the same treatment as others of the same branch, and are not permitted to make unwarranted demands of rice or money on the common fund.

10. Members of the *tsu* who adopt a son or a daughter from another *hsing* and those who give their children to be adopted by another *hsing* do not receive the allowance for these children. Should such children have been given the rice allotment for a time, the amount is to be deducted from the allowance of the person who received the rice in their name.

11. Births, deaths and marriages have to be reported to the *i-chuang* at once, giving the name and generation of the individual. Then the manager makes the necessary change in register. If people are late in announcing such a change, or demand an allotment for a person who is not entitled to one, when the truth is found out, the amount is to be deducted from their own allowance.

12. Whether a rice allowance ought to be given to an individual or not, is to be judiciously decided according to the rules by the manager and his assistants conferring

with the *t'ang*. The persons involved are not allowed to dispute the decision, and to disrupt the harmony within the *tsu*. Should anyone wilfully offend against this rule, his allowance is to be cut and a punishment deliberated.

13. Every year after the rent has been collected from the *i-t'ien* and the ritual land, the rice has to be winnowed, sifted and cleaned. After the taxes are paid the rest has to be hulled. Then it is stored in the granary, so that it can be readily used for handing out in allotments and for defraying other necessary expenses.

14. After the rent and interest from the *i-t'ien* has been collected and the taxes to the state paid, the budget for the coming year has to be determined. Should this be a year of famine, the total expenditures of the year, and the amount of net income have to be calculated. This is to be planned by the manager, his assistants and the *t'ang*. First the income of the previous year is to be distributed, and then the savings may be used. If this is still insufficient, the monthly rice allowance is to be cut according to the conditions, or different cereals may be added to the monthly allotment. But it is not permitted to borrow and involve the *tsu* in debts. Members of the *tsu* should understand the situation and refrain from unwarranted demands. After the next harvest the original allotment is to be resumed. Any surplus aside from the amount needed to restore the original savings is to be used in the acquisition of fertile fields. It is not permitted to buy arbitrarily any movable property, fields in low marshy country, or at a high altitude, or at a great distance. Such fields are useful only nominally and mean embarrassment for the *tsu*. The manager and his assistants alone are held accountable, and, when such a case occurs, have to return the undesirable fields to the former owner at the original price. Whenever more than 100 *mou* have been added, the authorities should be advised of it and the transaction inscribed on a stone.

15. The silver and rice stored in the *chuang* are not to be loaned out on interest, nor pawned under contract, nor given to a store on interest. (This sentence is obscure.) All articles acquired must be paid in cash. No account on credit is to be opened, in order to prevent the abuse of profiteering (on the part of the managers).

When the silver has accumulated to the round figure of some hundreds or a thousand, it is to be converted into silver sycee,* and, in the presence of the descendants of the founder, the amount is to be entered in the books and the silver itself stored under seal, saving it for the acquisition of new land. At the beginning and in the middle of each month the money is to be inspected and compared with the entries in the account-books, in order to keep a strict surveillance.

16. In years of plenty when unhulled rice is cheap, it is good to use the savings of the *i-chuang* to buy it and store it in the granary under seal, to prepare for the famine periods when the rice can be hulled and added to the reduced allotments of fresh rice.

17. Members of the *tsu*, whether they receive rice allowances or not, are not permitted to rent the land or the buildings of the *i-chuang*, nor to borrow any articles from there, nor temporarily store there their own things. If the person in charge does not prevent such practices, he is to be fined one-tenth of the value of the articles, land or buildings borrowed or rented, this money to be added to the public fund. The land, buildings or

* Stamped ingots of silver measured by weight.

articles have to be returned at once. If loss or damage is incurred through the loan, it is to be paid for by deductions from the salary of the person in charge. The buildings and other property of the *i-chuang* are to be repaired whenever necessary, and the wages of the workmen to be paid at once.

18. Every year, on the 15th of the 1st month, the ancestral ritual is performed at the ancestral hall of the *i-chuang*, in order to "requite the origin." All members of this branch who are receiving a rice allowance, with the exception of women and disabled persons, have to take part in person. If a person fails to be present without good reason, his rice allowance is cut for one month, to warn him and others against disrespect towards the ancestors.

19. The six graveyards with the tombs of the important ancestors are to be visited every spring and autumn. The manager and his assistants, after consultation with our *t'ang*, are to notify each *fang* ten days ahead of time. Together they visit the graveyards, perform the ritual and burn ritual money. The *fang* living at a distance may send a representative, who must not shirk the task. The manager has to provide a boat. In spring the date is the 2nd of the 3rd month, in autumn the 2nd of the 10th month.

20. (The salary of the teacher of the private school for *tsu* children is fixed in detail.) All members of our *tsu* who attend the school should study hard, in order not to disappoint "the heart of the old man" (the designation of the founder of himself). Should somebody make only a pretense of studying, the manager should find out the truth, and expel him as a punishment. In case this person repents, he is to be allowed to return to school, and is to be given lessons to prove his industry.

21. A manager and two assistants are to be chosen for the administration of the *i-chuang*, the choice to be made on the basis of honesty and ability. The manager must be a member of the *tsu*. A man from any *hsing* may serve as assistant. The choice is left to the descendants of the founder.

The manager is to administer all the affairs, with his assistants sharing the work. The duties are thus borne by responsible individuals, and no one can easily exercise authority alone. If there is a difference in the amount of rice collected as rent and the rice handed out in allotments, the manager and his assistants have to make up the loss in full. In such a case the descendants of the founder are to meet with the head of the *tsu* and petition the magistrate of the *hsien* to investigate. Since the matter concerns the welfare of the whole *tsu*, one should have no regard for personal relations.

In all decisions regarding the payment of taxes, the selling of rice, the purchase of unhulled rice, the weighing of silver and the acquisition of new property, the manager has to confer with our *t'ang*, and should not act arbitrarily.

The compensation for the manager is 40 ounces of silver annually, that of his assistants 32 ounces. It is to be paid by the month. Aside from the main accounts of income and expenditure, a running account is to be kept, in which current expenditures are to be entered by date and item. Thus it is possible to ascertain the latest figure at any time. Since the *i-chuang* constitutes the office, the manager and his assistants should sleep there, in order to be better able to superintend the place. At the beginning of every month the account of income and expenditures for the previous month is sent to our *t'ang*. Shortly before the new harvest two copies of the complete account for the whole year are to be drawn up. One of these copies is to be deposited in the *i-chuang* on the

15th of the 9th month for examination by the manager and the descendants of the *chuang*. The other is to be sent to the *t'ang* for reference.

The manager is to be changed every three years. Before his responsibilities are transferred to his successor, he has to work out a comprehensive account of the rent, taxes, the income and expenditures that passed through his hands, the number of people who receive rice allowances, the seals received from his predecessor, the money, the rice and other property at the *chuang*, etc. No matter how big or how small the item, it has to be entered. Two copies are to be prepared. On the day of the ancestral rites in spring or autumn one copy is to be handed to the successor, who is to take over the administration only after inspecting the property carefully, comparing it with the entries in the account-book. The other copy is to be kept in the *t'ang*. These account-books received by each successive manager must not be lost even after many years.

If, after his term of three years is full, the individual enjoys the confidence of the members of the *tsu*, and they want him to continue in office, he must not refuse. The continuation of the services of the assistants is to be discussed every year. If more temporary personnel is needed at the *i-chuang*, they are to be compensated at once.

21. The income of the *i-t'ien* is just sufficient for the distribution of rice allowances and subsidies. In future, as the *tsu* increases in membership, the day may come when it will become inadequate. As I am only thinking of the happiness of our *tsu*, I hope that from time to time more endowments will be made.

The above regulations are to be observed by the manager in his administrative work. The descendants of the founder are to supervise him from time to time, but the rest of the *tsu* is not to interfere. Should it be found that the manager has faults, it can be told only to the head of the *tsu*, who will confer with the *t'ang* and decide the matter judiciously. The hasty exposition of the charges and the confusion of the regulations should be avoided. Though the descendants of the founder have the right to supervise the managers, should they take advantage of their position to defraud the members of the *tsu*, they are to be upbraided openly, and no consideration is to be shown to them.

Date: These regulations were laid down by the founder of the *i-chuang*, Chao T'ung-hui, in the 15th year of Chia-ch'ing (1810) after deliberation with others.

In 1823 the son of the founder added a few regulations, the first of which changed the rice allowance to the younger branch of the *tsu*. Instead of receiving allotments per family, they were to be given monthly rice allowances on an individual basis, but only one-half the quantity that members of the founder's branch were receiving. In 1874 a member of the younger branch instituted an *i-chuang* only half as large as the original one. This one provided rice allotments for the destitute members of this branch. So they continued to obtain subsidies for funerals, marriages, and studies from the other *i-chuang*.

APPENDIX 38: REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE *I-T'IENT* OF THE *TSU* OF WANG IN SHEN-TSE, HOPEI

In 1753 Wang Chih gave 240 *mou* of his land to be used as *i-t'ien* for his *tsu*. His goal of setting aside 360 *mou* was attained the year after these regulations were drawn up.

He calculates that the land will bring in rent equal to 100 *tan* of grain and 1000 catties of cotton. The relatives in need of help are grouped in three categories according to nearness of kin:

a) Those related through the first ancestor are called "distant relatives" and are to be helped on occasions of marriages and funerals. Those who marry a daughter out are to receive 6 ounces of silver; those who take a wife are to receive 8 ounces of silver. For a funeral the subsidy is to be 10 ounces of silver. If a minor dies, the family is to receive a certain amount as judged suitable.

b) Those related through the sixth generation ancestor are called "near relatives." Besides the subsidies for marriages and funerals they are to receive, at the end of the year, 2 ounces of silver to protect them against the cold and one ounce for celebrating New Year.

c) The relatives descended from one great-great-grandfather are called *ch'in-tsu*—"close relatives." (This is the circle of mourning relatives.) Aside from the two types of assistance mentioned above, they are to receive an annual subsidy in rice. In the spring and autumn months when food is scarce they are to be assisted according to their needs, on the average 3 *tan* per month for each grown-up and one-half this amount for children between six and sixteen.

Moreover, the *tsu* is to determine by deliberation which are the very poor, the next poor and the least poor.

The very poor are those who have no land to cultivate and no other source of income, and yet have a large family to maintain.

The next poor are those who possess a small amount of land and no other source of income.

The least poor are those that have no land to cultivate, but possess another source of income, sufficient to provide them with food and clothing.

"In all deliberations concerning the handing out of relief, it should be planned to give first to the very poor, then to the next poor (among the 'close relatives'). Should there be a surplus the very poor among the near and distant relatives should be given either a monthly subsidy according to their needs, or they should be assisted in some enterprise. Do not hesitate (to use the funds) in one of these ways. . . .

"If aside from these (expenditures) there are surplus funds, they should be utilized for repairing the ancestral hall and for buying land. Further, one has to be prepared for years of famine.

"The management, receipt and disbursement of the funds is to rest in the hands of the head of our *chia*. (Each of the three groups) the 'close relatives,' the 'near relatives,' and the 'distant relatives' are to elect one or two persons to assist him. . . .

"After the harvest in the autumn, the amount of cotton and grain collected is to be entered into an account-book. All the amounts that have been handed out are also to be listed. The next year, at the ancestral rites at the beginning of the 10th month, the income received during the year is to be calculated, and after the expenses are deducted, the result is to be made known to all. . . .

"From to-day on, this land constitutes the common property of the *tsu*, and is not the possession of my own *chia*. When the full amount of 360 *mou* will have been reached, the land is to be separately instituted as the '*i-t'ien* of Wang,' so that it may be passed on

forever. My descendants, generation after generation, are not to occupy the land as their own, nor to find a pretext to take it and divide it (among themselves).

"Yet all my fellow-members in the *tsu* ought to remember that, though this limited amount of land can yield some subsidies, these are barely sufficient to keep from starving. It cannot be relied upon forever. You should begin early to make efforts to advance yourselves. Be frugal and industrious, work hard in the cultivation of the soil, or study assiduously, so as not to disgrace the ancestors. Moreover, regard the temporary eating of the 'duty-grain' as a very fortunate thing. This is what I fervently hope.

"Should there be in the *tsu* some other prosperous families, or some educated men with a salary from the government, and should each of them be willing to expand (the *i-t'ien*) according to his means, they will promote the respect for the ancestors and the care for the *tsu*-members far beyond that achieved to date. This is what I am hoping for fervently with a bowed head, and am keeping in my mind day and night."

APPENDIX 39: REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE RITUAL LAND OF THE *TSU* OF CHOU IN CH'ANG-SHU, KIANGSU

1. Members of the *tsu* are encouraged to contribute ritual land. The income from this land, besides serving to defray the ancestral rites, is used for subsidies to *tsu* members. It would be desirable to increase the land and to institute *i-t'ien* and 'school-land'.

Any member of the *tsu* who gives from a few *mon* to several ten *mon* is registered by name. Eight-tenths of the income from this land go to the ancestral hall, two-tenths are given to the contributor and, for all time, to his descendants, so that the ancestral sacrifices in his own family can be richer. In this way the benefactor may become one of the ancestors who are remembered forever.

2. Functionaries appointed by the different subdivisions take turns in holding the office of manager. Besides, one or two wise-and-virtuous and capable persons are elected to assist him. The manager should be wise-and-virtuous, care for his reputation, and have a sense of responsibility. His duties must be performed more conscientiously than the management of his own property, because the ritual land belongs to the ancestors. Should the person prove dishonest or incapable, the members of the *tsu* are to confer together and expel him from office. It is necessary that the manager be an individual commanding the respect of everyone in the *tsu*.

3. An account of the income and expenditures of the ancestral hall is to be kept. Two days before the office is handed to the successor, the account is to be posted on the walls of the ancestral hall for all members of the *tsu* to read, so that no suspicions are aroused.

4. After the winter solstice the manager is to hand over the affairs of the ancestral hall to his successor. The financial account is to be rendered when the rents have been collected. At that time the head of the *tsu* assembles the preceding and the succeeding managers, as well as two or three experienced old men who inspect the accounts. When these are clear, they are entered into an account-book and handed to the successor in office.

5. Members of the *tsu* who rent the land of the ancestral hall must pay rent accord-

ing to the fixed rates. Any offender is to be punished heavily, and the ritual land taken back to be rented to people of another surname. Land rented to outsiders is not to be rented to *tsu* members.

6. The funds of the ancestral hall can be used in lawsuits concerning claims of members of the *tsu*, the rights of orphans and minors and questions of 'right and wrong' (slander). In all cases the decision as to the use of the funds rests with the *tsu* and not with one or two individuals who want to serve their own profit.

APPENDIX 40: REGULATIONS REGARDING THE RITUAL LAND AND COMMON LAND OF THE *TSU* OF FAN IN HUA-YANG, SZECHUAN

In 1870 this *tsu* had been settled in Hua-yang for generations. Their forbears belonged to one of the two leading families in the district of Ch'ang-lo, eastern Kwangtung. The earliest ancestor known is Fan Ching-mou (1258-1351) who migrated from Fukien to Kwangtung during the troubles at the end of the Sung dynasty. The family owned considerable wealth, but during some famine years they were compelled to sell everything. At the end of the Ming dynasty Szechuan had been devastated. Fan Ch'in-jo, an 11th generation descendant of Ching-mou, heard that good land was to be had in Szechuan and in 1770 set out with his three younger sons to settle there. Two older sons were working elsewhere. In Szechuan they at first rented some land, but through hard work on the part of the young men they were soon able to improve their circumstances. They bought land in Hua-yang and worked it themselves. As soon as they were settled, Fan Ch'in-jo returned to Kwangtung to fetch his wife and the wives of his older sons. He also brought with him to Szechuan the bodies of his parents and grandparents. The older sons soon followed him.

Of the five sons the fourth one, Fan Pi, was the most capable and hard-working one. He married late, after all the other brothers had been provided with spouses. His wife belonged to one of the important *tsu* in the county of Yun-ning.

The father died in 1746 and the brothers divided their residences and property. The fourth and eldest brothers continued to live together for a time, but soon they, too, separated. Fan Pi throughout his life was a hard worker, both in agriculture and trade. So he was able to acquire a good amount of land. He himself never studied, but the two youngest of his six sons passed the civil examinations, while the rest remained farmers. We do not know how much land Fan Pi acquired in his life-time, but the fourth generation among his descendants, over a hundred people in all, possessed some 4000 *mou*.

Since the time of Fan Pi the descendants of his six sons have constituted a *tsu* of six *fang* around the ancestral hall which honors Fan Pi as the first ancestor, without forgetting their origin in Kwangtung. When some relatives from that province came to solicit money for the building of an ancestral hall, they contributed readily. Fan Pi in his old age instituted ritual land to provide for the sacrifice to the ancestors and the relief of the destitute in the *tsu*.

Among the ancestors of the Fan in Kwangtung there were none who passed a civil examination, although they were not illiterate. Among his descendants a number passed

one or more of the examinations, but only very few held government positions and these were of little importance.

The regulations were drawn up by Fan Pi, and written out by his sons.

1. "Those (among the descendants) who cultivate this ritual land have to pay the annual rent in full. In case of default it is permitted to the members of the *tsu* to drive the tenant out and choose one of his *fang* who is well-to-do enough to pay 200,000 cash as security for the rent. While working the land he must pay the rent as fixed originally. Should he prove no better, it lies with the members of the *tsu* to take back the land and drive him out.

2. "Those who live in this ancestral hall must not damage the buildings, nor fell the trees nor cut the bushes. The bamboo wood behind the ancestral hall is planted for gradual use, and should not be sold. Nor is it allowed to cut trees or bamboo elsewhere on the common land on the pretext that it belongs to the ancestral hall. Anyone who offends is to be punished by the members of the *tsu*.

3. "Each member has a share in the ancestral hall, the ritual land and any future additions, and shares are not to be reckoned by the *fang*. The property is never to be divided. When a new member (a son) is added to the family his father is to prepare a feast and greet the ancestors on the 1st of the 10th month, when the child is to be named. A 'share money' of 100 cash is to be paid for him. Without it he is not to have any part in the ancestral rites.

4. "At present our membership is large and the affairs complicated. The administration of the rice and money in the common fund is not to be managed by the six *fang* in turn as formerly. For this they are to elect two general managers, who are well-to-do and honest men. The term of office for each general manager is to be five years.

"For the work connected with the ancestral rites in spring and autumn, at New Year and on the birthdays of the ancestors, as well as that relating to the payment of taxes and the performance of public service (demanded by the government) etc. a manager is elected. This man is to be appointed annually. Should he be a just, honest and able person, it may be decided to ask him to continue in office.

All income and expenditures of money should be entered truthfully in an account-book. It is not permitted to make use of public funds in order to benefit one's private interests. On the day when the office is handed over to the successor an oath is to be copied stating that the manager so-and-so affirms the record to be true in front of the ancestors. This is to vouch for his honesty.

As to their salaries, the two general managers and the manager each are to receive money according to the amount of rice (collected in rent). For every 100 *tan* they are each to receive 1000 cash. Anyone who serves his selfish interests is to be fined and the money added to the public fund.

5. "The general managers and the manager are elected publicly by the six *fang*. Each general manager should give 100 *tan* of rice and the manager 50 *tan* of rice as security to the treasury. A contract to this effect is to be written out and given to the members as proof.

6. "Should some of the descendants of any *fang* prove themselves iniquitous: gamble, frequent prostitutes, have illicit sexual intercourse, steal, join an unorthodox sect, smoke opium, or enter "associations of heroes" (secret societies), on the first instance of such be-

havior the *tsu* is to cut off his share (i.e. oust him from membership) and prohibit his entry into the ancestral hall for the rites. Should he persist in disobeying, the head of the ancestral hall in conjunction with the members of the *tsu* is to hand the person over to the authorities for punishment. If he is able to repent and reform his conduct, he should ask the ancestral hall to vouch for him. The culprit should be required to sign a document promising that he will never again commit the offenses. Only after this is he allowed to return to the *tsu* and his name to be restored (i.e. he is returned to membership). All who belong to the descendants should beware of such punishment.

7. "In order to enter the ancestral hall for the rites a descendant should fast and possess the spirit of seriousness and harmony. Only thus can the rites be performed. Anyone who enters bearing a knife or other murderous weapon, or anyone who is in a state of violent drunkenness, should be punished by making him kneel in front of the ancestors. He should be reprimanded severely and fined 5 catties of oil. Anyone who steals or hides clothes, dishes or other articles (belonging to the ancestral hall) also is to be punished by kneeling in front of the ancestors and is to be reprimanded severely. He is to return the objects at once and give 10 catties of oil. Such oil is to be given to the ancestral hall to be burned in the lamps.

8. "The establishment of an ancestral hall is for the purpose of uniting the *tsu*. Aside from the discussion of public matters and of questions of ethical import, it is not allowed to quarrel or dispute in the ancestral hall. Anyone who transgresses this rule is to be fined 5 catties of oil for the lamps of the ancestral hall.

9. "Those who want to burn incense (to their ancestors) should choose an auspicious day that does not conflict with other rites at the ancestral hall. But they should just leave their incense in the censer and must not offer them to all the ancestral tablets. If anybody transgresses this rule the *tsu* is to burn his ancestors' tablets.

(This paragraph is not clear and may refer to some custom the family brought with them from Kwangtung).

10. "At the rites in spring and autumn those descendants who have 'coat and cap' (i.e., belong to the gentry) are obliged to attend. Those who do not come without good reason, are fined 300 cash for oil to be added to the common fund.

11. "All those who have successfully passed the examinations must attend the two rituals of spring and autumn in proper clothes. Those who did not pass the examination and the members of families that are hard up also should be dressed cleanly, to show their reverence. In future, if there should be someone whose clothing is not complete, or whose clothes are torn and dirty, though he own a share in the ancestral hall, he is not allowed to attend the rites. It is not his poverty that is objected to, but it is feared that he bring disgrace on the ancestors. Those who are deemed the very poorest among the descendants of the six *fang* are each given a certificate. Every year on the 20th of the 12th month, at 9-11 a.m., they are to bring this certificate to the ancestral hall, and, kneeling down before the ancestors they are to receive a subsidy of 400 cash for the spring and autumn rites (i.e. for proper clothing). Those who are late, or those who lack a certificate are not to receive anything. Aside from the subsidy from the common fund they are not to be given compensation for food expenses. Each one on receiving the money is to return home at once.

12. "The descendants of the six *fang*, regardless of whether they are high and

prominent, or poor and unimportant, whether they are old or young, are not to use the fields and mountains on the ritual land already established or to be established in future, for burying their dead by stealth or with a payment. Nor are the gardens, woods and buildings to be sold for residences, or the wood or bamboo there to be cut. Any offender is to be ordered to move out and is to be punished according to the decision of the members of the *tsu*.

13. "Two *mou* of common land are to be selected from the ritual land near the Lung-t'an Temple. Those among the descendants who are unable to provide land themselves are allowed to bury their dead in this land according to a specified order. The person who wants to bury someone there is to hand a certificate to the head of the ancestral hall. This is to impede those who want to make use of the land on false pretenses. Those without a certificate are to be stopped by the tenants. Those who overstep the limits, or do not place their tomb in the order prescribed, are to be ordered by the members of the *tsu* to move out. Should they refuse to abide by this order, they are to be reported to the authorities and punished by them. They are not allowed to enter the ancestral hall for the ritual."

In future more common land for graveyards is to be instituted, remaining subject to the same rules.

14. "If there is surplus silver in the treasury, it is essential to institute *i-t'ien* enough to provide 100 *tan* of rice, in order to assist the poor.

"Every year the head of the ancestral hall for each *fang* is to investigate in his own *fang*, which of the descendants of Tui-kung (honorific name of founder) are destitute, lack sufficient food and yet are contented with their lot. He is to enter each person's name, and whose son he is, in a register. One month before the appointed date each one of them is to receive a certificate. On the appointed day, between 9 and 11 a.m., they are to assemble in the ancestral hall, each bringing his certificate, to respectfully report to the ancestors and then to receive their money. This is to be handed out by the general managers and the manager, after consultation with the heads of the ancestral hall from the six *fang*. It is important that some savings remain for future use. The beneficiaries are not to quarrel or to complain, creating a big disturbance, so that they have to be evicted. Further, they are not to arrive late. On receiving the money they are to return home at once; no compensation for food is handed out.

"As to those descendants who have always conducted themselves badly—gambling, frequenting prostitutes, stealing, burning incense (in temples), joining (illegal) associations, undertaking work as official servants, acting on the stage, smoking tobacco, etc., their share in the ancestral hall is to be taken from them, and on no account is any money to be given to them to further their evil habits.

"When the *i-t'ien* is instituted, all those who are marked on the register of the treasury as widowers, widows, orphans, as childless, decrepit, or invalided, and hence are in need of relief, are to receive money from the income of the common land. In the future, if the membership should increase, so that the income does not cover the expenditures, the interest from the common land is yet to remain the only money for distribution, and the funds from the ritual land are not to be touched.

"These are the excellent ordinances and kindly intentions of Tui-kung. Those who

are in charge of the administration (of the two funds) should do so judiciously, and refrain from fraudulently reporting names and numbers in order to obtain profit for themselves. Should there be such a case, as soon as the offender is detected, he is to be fined double the amount embezzled and his money is to be added to the common fund."

Supplementary rules relating to relief and encouragement.

1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 deal with the sums to be awarded students passing the civil examinations of different degrees. Those of them who have to travel far from home are to receive travelling and living expenses. These subsidies, as well as the rewards for passing the examinations, are graded according to the degree achieved.

6 deals with the reward for a person who has bought a rank through money contributions to the government.

7 and 8 deal with the rewards for obtaining an official position.

9 and 10 state that the expenses for the preparation of a board with a laudatory inscription, commemorating the success of a candidate, are to be borne by the ancestral hall.

11. "A descendant belonging to any generation who contributes land to the value of 1000 ounces of silver and up, is to be rewarded with 500 cash. This is not to increase his wealth, but the institution of an increasing amount of property (for the common benefit) brings glory to the ancestors. Such industry and thrift is worthy of reward.

12. "Every year at the winter ritual those over seventy years of age, regardless of sex, receive two catties of sacrificial meat each.

14. "One who is contented with his lot, and remains poor and unmarried, after the age of 40, is to be given 10,000 cash for betrothal gifts. No matter whether this money is used for a marriage or not, it is handed out only once.

15. "One who is contented with his lot, and, dying after the age of 40, has no one to pay for his burial, is given 5000 cash for a coffin, regardless of sex.

16. "A person who is honest and faithful, and either is invalided or 'beset by heat and cold' (i.e. destitute) is to be given 1000 cash annually.

17. "Concerning the money to be given to a widow who is determined to remain faithful, it is to be graded according to the age (of the sons). It has been decided that in the case of the widow of a poor family with young sons, who finds it hard to defray the daily living expenses, she and her children are each to receive 10,000 cash annually. The children receive the money until they have reached the age of fifteen. After the eldest son has reached this age, the next younger son or daughter continues to receive his portion until the age of fifteen. After all children are over fifteen, neither mother nor children are to receive anything.

The widow of a rich family who remains faithful is not included in this rule.

As to those who ruin their reputation and give up their fidelity, their conduct belongs in a category with the seven causes for divorce. Though they be hard up in the matter of food and clothing, how can they be paid indiscriminately?

18. "A child, who has lost both parents, is living in very difficult circumstances, and has no near relatives to support him, is to be given 2000 cash annually. He is to be maintained thus until the age of fifteen.

19. "If fidelity and filial piety (to parents-in-law) are important for a widow, the

mark of distinction (by the government) is the crowning glory of fidelity. Those who obtain a mark of distinction for their fidelity are to be given 10,000 cash as a reward."

APPENDIX 41: REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE LAND OF THE ANCESTRAL HALL AND ANNUAL RICE ALLOWANCES. IN THE *TSU* OF YANG IN WUSIH, KIANGSU

From the amended regulations of 1686:

Those who take the civil examination for the second and third degree are given money for travelling expenses and for congratulatory rewards. Those who take the military examinations are given only one half of the amount of a candidate for the corresponding civil degree.

"After a person has been appointed to an official position and has saved some money from his salary, he is to contribute several ten *mou* (of land). Those who do not have sufficient funds, still are to give 10 or 20 ounces of silver to be added to the common fund in the ancestral hall to show their gratitude to the ancestors. . . ."

"Members of the *tsu* over 60 years in age are given 5 *tan* of rice annually; those over 70 are given one *tan* annually; those over 80 are given 2 *tan*; those over 90 are given 3 *tan*; those over 100 years in age are given 10 ounces of silver for 'fruit and wine.' This is to show respect for old age.

"A widow who remains faithful (to the memory of her husband) over twenty years without disgracing herself, is given one bushel of rice annually. One who has reached the age of 70 and has remained faithful, though it be for less than twenty years, is also to be given one bushel.

"Orphans without support are to be cared for by near relatives, and receive one *tan* of rice annually until they reach the age of eighteen. This is to show sympathy for orphans and widows.

"On the day of the ancestral ritual (the 3rd of the 3rd month) those who are entitled register their names. After public deliberations each is given a certificate with which he can obtain rice at the winter solstice. A person who is cultivating the fields of the ancestral hall and does not go to the granary to pay the rent, or arbitrarily makes a deduction (from the rent he owes) is to be dunned for the rent according to the fixed rate. He is never to be shown sympathy. Should he on occasion be beset by hunger, the rent may be lowered according to the circumstances, but this must not be made an excuse to stop payments, nor should (the ancestral hall) stubbornly press him for the rent.

"The buildings of the ancestral hall are not to be borrowed by members of the *tsu* to live in. Although the buildings of the ancestral hall are left by the ancestors, they really belong to the *tsu* as a whole. Should one person on occasion borrow (a part of them) for a dwelling and fail to return it for a long time, those in the *tsu* who lack shelter will make it an excuse (to do likewise). Anyone who offends on this account is to be assailed by the whole *tsu*. If he refuses to obey, he is to be indicted in front of the authorities, so that he may be investigated and punished by them. Nor is it permitted to use the place for storing agricultural implements without asking permission. Anyone who offends on this account is to be fined one ounce of silver to be given to the common fund of the ancestral hall.

"It is forbidden to rent out the lands of the ancestral hall to members of the *tsu*. The land belonging to the ancestral hall is only several hundred *mon*. Aside from payment of taxes, the income is feared to be insufficient for the cost of the ancestral ritual and the maintenance of the ancestral hall. Yet there are members of the *tsu* who, pretending to cultivate the land on rent, continually put off payment of the rent, until it adds up to a *tan* (and more). This kind of person is certain not to prosper in the future! If anyone offends against this rule, indict him in front of the authorities, so that they may investigate and punish him."

From the amendments of 1691:

"In the future, one day before the spring ritual the manager, (of the ancestral hall) together with the head of the *tsu*, have to settle the accounts with those members of the *tsu* who are cultivating the land of the ancestral hall. Only then, (if their rents are paid satisfactorily) are they allowed to enter the ancestral hall and take part in the ritual. Those who trust to violence and will not obey (the head of the *tsu* and the manager) are to be punished and reprimanded in front of the ancestors and also to be indicted (in front of the authorities).

"Should there be those who pay the rent for the tenants and substitute poor rice, this is even more preposterous. Such people are to be called up by name on the day of the ancestral ritual to be examined in public. This is to punish the intractable.

From the amendments of 1873:

"The manager has been recklessly renting out the land to members of the *tsu*, so that (the income from) the rents has been short. Before the year *k'eng-shên* of Hsien-fêng (1860) there were already not a few of these abuses. At present the cultivated land for rent is only a little over one hundred *mon*, which is felt as insufficient even for the paying of the taxes and for defraying of the expenses of the ritual. The rents in rice should be improved immediately, so as to avoid financial difficulties. In future, those members of the *tsu* who cultivate the land of the ancestral hall should rouse their conscience and pay the rates paid by the tenants of a different surname. The rentals for *tsu* tenants are to be done away with for all time. Should there be obstinate persons who will not abide by the rules and will not pay the full rent, or those who take upon themselves (the delivery) of the rent by *tsu* members and in secret stir them up (to dissatisfaction), the authorities are to be notified at once of such offenders, so that they may prosecute them.

APPENDIX 42: SEVEN RULES CONCERNING THE WORK OF THE MANAGER OF THE *TSU* OF YANG IN WUSIH, KIANGSU

1. "The manager (of the common land belonging to the ancestral hall) is not permitted to lower arbitrarily the fixed rents. The rents are light and the taxes heavy. Even though the land be inferior, how can one arbitrarily reduce the fixed rent handed down by the ancestors? Should uncultivated land be given to tenants, at first there might be some slight reduction. But after a harvest or two, the original rent should be re-established. Should the rents be reduced arbitrarily without returning them (to the original standard) it will surely cause the taxes to be heavy and the rents insufficient, and the difficulties will be without end. A person who offends against this rule is to be impeached by the whole *tsu*.

2. "The manager is not permitted to list confusedly defaults in rent. The rents from the fields are fixed at certain amounts. In years of adversity they are reduced according to the custom. In years of plenty they are to be collected in full. This is where the manager should show his ability. How can he be allowed to use defaults in rents as a pretext to fatten himself? In the future, at the time of turning over the accounts, a note should be made of any tenant who has defaulted in his payment to be handed to the successor in office, so that the sum may be deducted (from the whole annual income). Should malpractices such as the confused listing (of defaults in rent) take place on any pretext, the person who has just fulfilled his term as manager is to refund the money, and is to be punished by the *tsu*.

3. It is not permitted to default in the payment of money or grain to the authorities. The paying of taxes is in accordance with the laws of the country. The manager, in handing over his accounts (to his successor) should hold ready the notices of the government (regarding amounts to be paid), in order to facilitate the examination of the accounts. If in the accounts the sum is marked as having been paid without the corresponding notice being presented, this constitutes an embezzlement of funds, which not only is condemned by the laws of the country, but also should be suppressed by the regulations of the ancestral hall. Anyone who offends on this account is to be indicted by the *tsu* and heavily punished.

4. "It is not permitted to sell rice and wheat with the use of a small measure. When rice and wheat are sold the official *bu* (one-half bushel) is to be used. At present the rice and wheat of the ancestral hall are collected with the aid of the '*bu* of rent' (that is, a large measure) and are sold using a small *bu*. The difference between the two is considerable, so that the income becomes reduced. Further, since the price is fluctuating, only the lowest price is confusedly entered into the accounts. It goes so far that, on the pretext of having necessary expenditures, the manager fattens himself. Are such abuses proper for a descendant who is undertaking work in the service of the ancestors? In future, when selling grain, the *bu* should be tested. It is forbidden to use the small *bu*. Such abuses are to be eliminated. Anyone who offends on this account is to be punished by the *tsu*, and the balance is to be made up in money to the ancestral hall.

5. "It is not permitted to conceal property given as security. It is detestable when a bad tenant gives property in place of rent. It is even worse when the manager keeps it at home in the hope that it will remain unknown. In future, when articles are given in place of rent, they are to be entered in a book to be kept at the ancestral hall, and the articles themselves are either to be converted into money or to be kept for use. Every year they are to be inspected. If anything is concealed, anyone may point it out and on the day of the ancestral ritual, (the offender) is to be punished as an example, and the property taken into the ancestral hall.

6. "It is not permitted to falsify the value of sacrifices and objects used in the ritual. The articles used at the semiannual rites have a fixed value. Though they be listed at the current price, if it is done without consultation with the preceding and succeeding managers regarding the value, the account cannot be shown to the *tsu*. In future, on the day when the animals are to be slaughtered, the preceding and succeeding managers are to be invited as witnesses, so that no number in the accounts may be without truth, and no sum of silver fraudulently disbursed. As to the ritual articles, often the accounts

are falsified (by records) of the acquisition of replacements, on the pretext that there is a lack of one thing or the other. At present, this being the spring of the year *hsin-wei* (1691), a sufficient number (of articles) have been acquired. In future, there may be only an occasional damage, which the manager has to compensate for. Each one should be careful so as not to lose anything through negligence.

7: "It is not permitted to loan out any articles from the ancestral hall, or to loan out the front hall for storing agricultural tools. The tables and benches in the ancestral hall are all bought with money and grain. If they are loaned out they will certainly be damaged. If the person in charge, for personal reasons, gives them to one who comes to borrow them, they are to be fined one ounce of silver each, to be added to the common fund of the ancestral hall. This is the old rule. This prohibition has been in force for a long time, and we reannounce it for the instruction of the *tsu* members.

"As to the five rooms in the front hall, they should be kept clean. If they are arbitrarily loaned to people to store their carts and other objects, it is much against propriety. If, even worse, they are loaned to people to hold a Buddhist meeting or an 'incense meeting' a noisy crowd (gathers), which is very irreverent. If this offense (of permitting such a meeting) is committed, the manager and the persons arranging the loan, as in the case of loaning articles, are each to be fined one ounce of silver to be given to the common fund.

"These seven rules all are meant to put an end to abuses in the ancestral hall. The manager for the year should think of his duty when he sees his profit, and set an example to those who follow him, and demonstrate his character. If he is able to keep these rules, all the *tsu* will comment on it publicly. Should he commit an offense, the regulations of the ancestors do not allow any laxity (in dealing with him). Since abuses have been made impossible, let him not hope to evade the rules by tricks. The rules for the manager are now in force. It is only hoped that all will uphold them.

"In future, every year on the 15th of the 2nd month (the manager) is to meet with his predecessor and his successor, and render a clear account in a spirit of justice. They are not allowed to protect one another by concealing faults. The accounts are to be copied into two books, one to be sent to the head of the ancestral ritual for examination, the other to be left at the ancestral hall and handed unto the succeeding manager. It is to be kept reverently without negligence."

APPENDIX 43: THE MANAGEMENT OF THE CH'ING-YUAN I-CHUANG OF THE *TSU* OF WANG IN CH'ANG-SHU, KIANGSU

Yü-mei-kung, the founder of the Ch'ing-yuan *i-chuang* of the *tsu* of Wang decreed that his descendants in the direct line were to have the exclusive right to administer the *i-chuang* on behalf of the branch for which it was instituted. "Later I intend to command that the two *fang* descending from my eldest son Chên-sun and my second son Chün-sun are to take turns administering the land. They must observe the rules (concerning the management of the affairs) assiduously, and exercise great care in performing the work. They must not forget the great pains taken in establishing the *i-chuang*."

"If during a year of famine the rent cannot be collected, the rice allowance is to be

reduced accordingly. This is to be decided entirely by the descendants of the founder, and *tsu* members are not to dispute their decisions. Regarding the management of the *i-chuang*: regarding collection of the rent, the paying of the taxes, the ancestral ritual and the appointment of managers in alternate years, the right of determination rests completely with the descendants of the founder, to be exercised for the common benefit. The other members of the *tsu* may not interfere out of envy."

APPENDIX 44: RELIEF DISTRIBUTED BY THE CH'ING-YÜAN I-CHUANG OF THE TSU OF WANG IN CH'ANG-SHU (ESTABLISHED IN 1917)

"It has been decided that all those in the branches descended from Ch'iu-yüan-kung, who are poor and have difficulties providing for themselves, are to be given, regardless of sex, 3 *ko** of rice daily when over four years in age, 5 *ko* of rice when between eleven and sixteen years in age, and 6 *ko* when over 17 years in age. After a boy reaches the age of twenty, he is able to study or to pursue some vocation, and thus is in a position to make a living. While his father, mother, wife and children continue to receive a rice allowance, his own allowance is to be stopped. This is to warn him not to let body and mind go to waste in idleness. After he reaches the age of fifty he is again to be given 6 *ko* daily. If a person is invalided or incapacitated he is to receive an allowance regardless of age."

"A girl's allowance is stopped on the day of her wedding. If after the death of her husband she remains a widow and brings up her orphaned children, and really is in distress, without anyone to depend upon, she is to be given a rice allowance for her own person. If a virgin remains chaste after the death of her fiancé and her property is less than 20 *mon*, she is to be given a rice allowance, regardless of her age.

"A family that owns more than 30 *mon*, or has same capital to operate a workshop or store and is thus able to maintain itself, is not to be given a rice allowance. A criminal, the follower of an alien sect (that is, one condemned by the state), a loafer, a gambler, or an opium addict, will receive none. If a person should make arbitrary demands, ignoring the rules of the *i-chuang*, and engages the support of other *tsu* members in arguing these demands, and stubbornly refuses compliance (with the decisions of of those in charge), he is to be handed over to the authorities for examination and punishment. . . ."

"Those descendants of the founder who are unable to maintain themselves are to be given a rice allowance like any other member of this branch. The other subsidies are to be doubled for them."

"Those among the poor in the *tsu* who are widowed and childless, after passing the age of fifty, are to receive, aside from the monthly rice allowance, 2000 cash every winter for padded clothing. A person who lacks a son, but has a grown-up grandson, does not receive such help. Further, an orphan who has no one to depend upon, while under the age of sixteen, is to receive 1500 cash for padded clothes in winter, aside from his rice allowance. If a mother dies when her child is only several months old, and the father finds himself unable to provide a wet-nurse, an extra 600 cash are to be given for

* 1 *ko* is .18039 liter.

the child every month, after the infant has been brought as evidence. After the third year this assistance is to be stopped.

"If among the poor in the *tsu* there is a young widow who remains faithful to her husband and brings up her orphaned children, aside from the monthly rice allowance, she is to be given 300 cash a month in order to show sympathy for those who are determined to follow the path of filial piety and faithfulness to husbands. The *tsu* is to act for them in advising the authorities of their virtue and ask for rewards."

Further subsidies for weddings, funerals and education are listed in detail.

APPENDIX 45: THE COMMITTEE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE ANCESTRAL HALL OF THE *TSU* OF WU IN WU-CHIN, KIANGSU (FORMED IN 1933)

1. The purpose of this Committee is to jointly administer the property of the ancestral hall of the *tsu* of Wu, therefore its name is to be The Committee for the Administration of the Property of the Ancestral Hall of the *tsu* of Wu.

2. The members of this committee are to be men of well-known virtue and of reputation elected by the whole *tsu*. The responsibilities and duties are to be distributed among them as follows:

a) One Chairman (*chu-jên*) and one vice-chairman, who are to bear the responsibility of allocating the funds, of the acquisition of land and of negotiations with the outside.

b) One Treasurer (*szŭ-k'u*) who is to bear the responsibility of disbursing the money. Important items of disbursement must have the assent of the chairman and other members of the Committee.

c) One Keeper (*pao-kuan*) who is to take charge of the business documents of the ancestral hall. These are to be inspected once a year by the Inspectors.

d) One Accountant (*k'uai-chi*) who is to take charge of the accounts and the arrangements for the ancestral ritual. The incoming money is to be placed in the safe-keeping of the Treasurer.

e) One Business Manager (*shu-wu*) who is to be in charge of the equipment of the ancestral hall, of new acquisitions and of repairs.

f) Three Auditors (*chi-hê*) who are to investigate the rent and other income and the expenditures on the account-books. The three are to elect one among themselves to act as chairman.

3. Money that is to be deposited (in the bank) or loaned out, or to be used to acquire land has to be passed upon by the chairman and the other members of the Committee.

4. All offices on this Committee are honorary, except those of Treasurer and Business Manager, who are to be given subsidies. However, in case of important work of a public nature, (i.e. for the benefit of the *tsu*) they are to be given their travelling expenses.

Members of the Committee are to serve one year. A person who has completed one term without fault is to continue to serve.

5. If the office of one member on the Committee is vacant an able man of the *tsu* is to be elected publicly to continue to serve.

6. The Committee is to select three men of ability and endurance to act as Collectors. They are to collect the rent and outstanding loans.

7. One of the three Collectors is to be selected as chairman. All of them are to be paid, their salary to be determined by the Committee. If their work is well performed, they are to be rewarded accordingly with premiums and compensation of travelling expenses.

8. When the Collectors collect rent, regardless whether it consists of rice or wheat or is converted into money, they are to use bills of three parts (that is, tenant, collector, and the committee each keeping one part) as a greater precaution. After the rent has been collected, it is handed as a whole to the chairman of the Auditors. Only after it has been examined is it handed to the Accountant to be entered into the books for reference. Then the Accountant is to give the money to the Treasurer for safe-keeping, and the grain is to be stored or sold.

9. If a Collector is not efficient in his work, the Committee is upon deliberation to dismiss him. Whatever loss he has caused he is to be ordered to refund.

10. The Committee has the duty to manage the communal funds of the *tsu* and to undertake works of public welfare. If anyone not a member of the Committee has a suggestion to offer they must accept and carry it out.

11. The accounts of this Committee are to be worked out once a year. Income and expenditures are to be entered into a book which is to be made public.

12. When the Committee is confronted with affairs of importance the chairman is to convene an extraordinary session to decide them.

13. The Committee is to be superintended by the members of the *tsu*. Five just and honest men are to be elected publicly by the *tsu* to act as Inspectors. If the Committee proves itself incapable it is to be punished, dissolved and reorganized according to the law by the Inspectors.

14. These regulations are to be put into effect after the whole *tsu* has approved of them. Should they prove deficient on some point, a suggestion is to be submitted to an assembly of the *tsu* in order that it may be changed.

15. The civil code which is in force at present is to be accepted. Quarrels between the descendants often take place on account of the right of succession and of the inheritance of property. The regulations laid down in successive genealogies are not sufficiently specific. Also, the newly published code of the national government has made the revolution its goal. In the matter of inheritance it deals with property entirely; with regard to relatives it is concerned with their respective rights and duties. Therefore, if in any branch of the *tsu* quarrels break out about the succession, the present civil code should be consulted, so that the suspicion be avoided that we close our doors and manufacture a wagon that does not follow the common course.

16. A Committee for the Arbitration between Relatives should be organized at once. Often members of the *tsu* quarrel incessantly because of slight causes, going as far as to sue each other in court. This is not the way to maintain cordial relations. From now on when a quarrel arises in any branch or sub-branch, the head of the *tsu* and the head of the branches and the two parties concerned as well as just and honest men in the

tsu are to organize a meeting of relatives to arbitrate it. All present at the meeting are to sign their names to show the importance (of the occasion). The proceedings are to be recorded for future reference. Should there be one who will not accept the arbitration of the Committee and go to court, the account of the arbitration proceedings is to be handed to the court so as to bring to light the truth. Those who artfully instigate the two parties to go to court are to be severely punished according to the 6th article in the ninth and tenth editions of the genealogy.

17. Those who love to study, but are from poor families, should be helped according to their needs. In the Ch'ing dynasty the *tsu* held ready rewards as encouragements for those students who achieved a degree in the civil examinations. Since the establishment of the Republic the road to an official position depends on the graduation from school. Tuition costs twice as much as before. Poor students, though they wish to study, have no hopes of advancement. Therefore, to uphold the good intentions of the ancestors, a system of subsidies for those who progress in their studies has been decided upon, which is to be used for the benefit of boys of poor families and is to serve as a stimulant.

(There follows a list of scholarships for students of the lower middle school through to studies abroad, and regulations concerning the criteria for awarding the scholarships.)

18. (Concerns the organization of a Board of Trustees to supervise the school of the *tsu*).

19. There should be regulations concerning the inheritance of those who die without sons. The *tsu* places emphasis on the ancestral hall, while the law is concerned with the will of the individual. Therefore the inheritance of the property of persons dying without sons is to be in accordance with the testament of the dead—made out either by himself, or his wife, or any secondary wife who has borne a child. If there is no testament, a younger relative within the five mourning degrees is to be selected to succeed the dead, so as to avoid the dying out of the line. If there is no suitable person the property is to be given in the care of the main ancestral hall.

The following regulations concern the property left by a person dying without a son:

a) The property of any member of the *tsu* who dies without an heir, and who has no brothers or close cousins to inherit it, is to be taken care of according to these regulations, so that it may be preserved for all time and may serve the ancestral rites.

b) If the owner of the property has close relatives—a wife or secondary wife, this property is for the time being to be given in charge of this relative, so as to serve her maintenance. After her death it is to revert to the possession of the *tsu*.

c) If the owner of the property has no wife or secondary wife, but has daughters, his daughters are to inherit it. But the *tsu* is entitled to ask for a portion of it—about one-third, as a contribution to the funds of the ancestral rites.

d) If none of the conditions mentioned under b) and c) are in existence, then after the death of the individual, the Committee for the Administration of the Property of the Ancestral Hall is to appoint a member to check all of the possessions of the deceased. All the movable and immovable property is to be entered into a list to be presented to the Committee. Only after it has been thus recorded in detail, does the property come under the management of the *tsu*.

e) The property after being recorded becomes part of the possessions of the *tsu*,

but to commemorate the owner his name is to be preserved in connection with it.

f) This property, both movable and immovable, is not to be disposed of, or to be made use of, by the Committee. Only after the funds for the ancestral rites of the branch of the owner have been deducted from the interest of the rent every year, is the rest to be used for the common good of the *tsu*.

g) Every year the Committee for the Administration of the Property of the Ancestral Hall is to make a report on this property. It is to be handed to the Inspectors to be checked. Then it is to be made public to the *tsu*.

h) These regulations after they have been decided upon by the whole *tsu* are to be published. If circumstances arise that have not been provided for in this set of regulations, the Committee is to bring it to the attention of the whole *tsu*, which is to convene and determine upon amendments.

20. The right of a woman to inherit property should be acknowledged. Our times acclaim modernization. The rights of women are increasing day by day. Since in the 10th month of the 15th year of the Republic (1926) the National Government ordered all the provinces under its control to carry into effect the law concerning the right of women to inherit property, and, again, since on the 19th day of the 8th month of the 18th year it proclaimed the detailed regulations governing the retroactive right of married women to their inheritance, the right of women in this regard has been definitely established. Can the women of our *tsu* alone be different? Yet this is to be on the condition that the owner of the property leave a will to that effect, or that the heir put in a demand. However, though the property of a man without sons is to be inherited by his daughters, upon deliberation one-third of it is to be retained in order to be given to the nearest-related branch of the *tsu* for ancestral offerings.

21. (The words and deeds of the prominent ancestors are to be recorded in the genealogy).

22 and 23. (The different terms to be applied in the genealogical records to persons of different ages who die without children.)

24. Those who, after being expelled, show repentance should be allowed to 'renew themselves'. Those who violate the rational precepts and fall in with perverse company are to be expelled and their names are to be excluded from the genealogy. This is truly to let the descendants see the example and fear in their hearts, thus learning what they have to avoid. Any member of the *tsu* who is willing to ruin himself, and follows the wrong path, should be expelled in order to emphasize the warning. However, whose desire to be good is less than ours? The law stresses reform by moral influence; the relations within the *tsu* emphasize filial piety and brotherly love. Therefore, the guilty should be shown some amount of forgiveness, to give him a chance to renew himself. If, after his punishment, he really is able to repent and change his behavior towards the good, the head of his branch, and at least two honest and just men in the *tsu* are to sign a guarantee (for his conduct). Then he naturally can have his name re-entered. The intention of this is to use punishment in the hope that no punishment may be necessary.

APPENDIX 46: THE *I-CHUANG* OF THE *TSU* OF LI IN CHÊN-HAI, CHEKIANG

"Several hundred *chia* of the *tsu* of Li in Chên-hai live on the coast. They have always made a living by (extracting) salt (by) boiling (sea-water), therefore the poor among them are in a majority.

"(Li) Pi-an and his younger brother Yeh-t'ing raised their families to prosperity through trade. They planned to establish an *i-chuang*, but they died before they could carry out their design. The two men had virtuous sons . . . who continued the project of their fathers and put it into execution. In all they instituted 2000 *mu* of land, yielding over 4000 *tan* of rice, which is distributed to the destitute. The living who has no sustenance is given grain; the dead who lacks a coffin is given one. Since the income is barely sufficient to defray the disbursement, they (that is, the sons) have contributed several ten-thousand (ounces of silver) so that the *i-chuang* may be prepared for unforeseen expenditures.

"Then they divined an auspicious location and erected a building which was called the 'Chêng-i (straight-righteousness) Chuang.' In the center is a hall with a second story, which is open on all sides. In the south it touches Mount T'ai-pai and in the north it hugs Mount Li. Looking to right or left one sees the sea. A most superb place! Here the scholars of the *tsu* vie with each other in the art of literature.

"In front of this building a pond has been dug, and there is a small pavilion where visitors are entertained. Four schools (rather classes), each with one teacher, have been instituted. The intelligent among the members of the *tsu* are chosen to be instructed there. They study separately, but eat together. The tablets of Pi-an and Yeh-t'ing are placed in the hall of the school, and rites are performed there according to the season."

APPENDIX 47: THE RITUAL LAND OF THE FANG FAMILY IN NANKING

The scholar-official Fang Pao early in the Ch'ing dynasty was born in Anhui, but he and his brother had established themselves in Nanking. Some time before his death he ordered his sons and grandsons to deposit the surplus income from their ritual land in a store to bear interest. When they would thus have secured 600-700 ounces of silver they were to buy some of the richest land with it. In ten years the interest would accumulate to double the original. "Then continue to institute ritual land. Every ten years all the title deeds are to be taken to the county magistrate. Following the example of Mr. Ts'ai of Chang-p'u the title deeds are to be marked with the seal (of the county magistrate), and are to be registered with the county government."

The surplus of the annual income of the ritual land, after the ancestral rites have been cared for, is to be used to help sons and grandsons towards the expenses for weddings and funerals, if they are unable to pay for them. Each one in the grandson generation (granddaughters included) is to receive 50 ounces of silver for a wedding. Sons and daughters-in-law are to receive as much for a funeral. The grandson generation is to be

given 30 ounces each for this purpose. Those who have means are not to receive such assistance.

When ten years later the ritual land has increased to double the original size, then, aside from the direct descendants of the founder, the relatives within the mourning degrees are to be cared for. "The descendants of the same grandfather and his brothers are to receive ten ounces of silver for each wedding and funeral. The descendants of the great-grandfather . . . are to receive one-half as much. The descendants of the great-great-grandfather . . . , who are living at Nanking, are to receive one ounce each for such occasions. Widows and orphans whose near relatives cannot maintain them are to be given one ounce each every spring and autumn for clothing."

Further, a teacher is to be engaged for the children of the group of relatives. Those who are unable to go to this school are to receive four ounces of silver for tuition at some other school.

"Widows and orphans who have no income and whose near relatives cannot maintain them are to be given food and clothing until the time when the sons are grown-up. Those who do not succeed in their studies, but show ability in doing business or in farming, are to be given 30 ounces of silver as capital. Should some individual through laziness waste this capital he is to receive no more."

When after twenty years the ritual land has again increased to twice the original size the assistance to the above relatives is to be increased. "Those of my brother's and my descendants who are contented with their lot, and, having many mouths in the family, are short of food, are to be given a rice allowance. If a daughter is widowed and has no one to depend upon and lacks a son, her living and funeral expenses are to be defrayed out of the common funds. If she has sons and no one to depend upon, the children are to be cared for so that they may grow up. If they are not very depraved, they are not to be lightly forsaken."

After thirty years the ritual land will again have doubled. The assistance to the above relatives is again to be increased. The direct descendants of the founder and his brother are to receive rewards for passing the civil examinations in the provincial and national capital, regardless of the economic status of their families.

APPENDIX 48: THE CRITERIA FOR ADMITTANCE INTO THE ANCESTRAL HALL IN THE *TSU* OF CHAO IN WUSIH, KIANGSU

An ancestor of this *tsu* had instituted 300 *mou* of ritual land to defray the expenses of the rites for the earliest ancestor. In later generations this land somehow was lost to the *tsu*. Around 1725 one person suggested that all the members who could do so should contribute from 2 to 10 *mou* or more, in return for the privilege of installing the ancestral tablet of the father or grandfather in the ancestral hall. (It appears that the suggestion was accepted.)

In 1757 the ancestral hall needed rebuilding, but there were no extra funds available. So the *tsu* encouraged individuals without sons to sell their real estate property and contribute the money. In return, after their death, their tablets were to enter the ancestral

hall and receive the ritual together with the other ancestors. Families who had sons and desired to have the tablets of a father or grandfather to be taken into the ancestral hall were to contribute 5 *mou* of land. The fact that these sons still lacked sons themselves could not be used as a pretext to offer money instead.

"From now on it will be forbidden forever to contribute money in order to enter the ancestral hall. Should there be descendants who in their life-time disgraced themselves and behaved badly, though they wish to contribute land in order to send the tablets into the ancestral hall to participate in the sacrifices, the desires of the ancestors ought to be respected, and these people cut off from the ritual. If the ancestors have consciousness, they would not be happy to see an unworthy descendant enjoy sacrifices that are against the *i* (that is, sacrifices they did not deserve).

"One whose conduct is notable for loyalty, filial piety, fidelity to her husband (on the part of a widow) and the performance of duty, as well as one whose name is well-known, whose career (as an official) is a success, and who achieved the third degree in the civil examinations, elevates the reputation of his family and illuminates the virtues of former generations. Such a person after his or her death, naturally should enter the ancestral hall to enjoy the ritual.

"One who exerts himself on behalf of the ancestors, who, at a time when great difficulties are encountered with regard to the ancestral hall or the ancestral graves, will not make excuses on account of work or sickness, but exert himself without tiring; such a person is to be rewarded after his death, or his father or grandfather may be remembered there with the ancestral ritual. One tablet (of such a family) should be allowed to enter the ancestral hall, as an encouragement to those who exert themselves on behalf of the group. All these should not be required to contribute land."

APPENDIX 49: DIFFICULTIES IN MAINTAINING INTACT THE ANCESTRAL HALL AND THE RITUAL LAND (TSU OF LI IN CHÊN-CHIANG, KIANGSU)

"The ancestral hall of our *tsu* underwent three changes. In the 10th year of the reign of Ch'ung-chên (1637 A.D.) Chêng-wu-kung together with his younger brother, brother's sons and others contributed money and by common consent instituted the house of Pao-mo-kung as an ancestral hall, containing thirteen rooms in all. They also acquired a number of ritual objects . . . and ritual land . . . 24,942 *mou* in all. . . . However, only a few decades later, in the early days of this dynasty, the ancestral hall was requisitioned and turned into barracks. The ritual objects and other furniture were scattered and lost. Nobody was taking care of the land. No one knew who was to pay the taxes and who was to collect the rent. Even the spring and autumn ritual was neglected for thirteen years. In the 15th year of K'ang-hsi (1676 A.D.) Lo-chiu-kung lent his own home to serve as an ancestral hall. . . . He built three shrines in it, and gave ritual objects . . . , ritual land . . . 100,698 *mou* in all, and a building of seven rooms (to serve administrative purposes), and a couple from among his servants. . . . At the compilation of the last genealogy a long time had passed already and it was not possible to ascertain the details. . . . Of the old ritual land only 18.13 *mou* remained. The head and members

of the *tsu* decided to give this land to the ancestral hall of T'ang-kang (place-name), so that the members of the *tsu* belonging to it might manage it and take in the rent with which the ancestral ritual was to be defrayed. Since this land was given to them, the descendants of Min-tsu (obviously first ancestor honored at T'ang-kang) were to participate whenever a ritual was performed at the T'ang-kang ancestral hall, and to have a part in the banquet following the rites. A document testifying to the acceptance of this land by Ch'i-fang and others is preserved (it is given in full at the end of this account). . . . It was not to be foreseen, but in less than one hundred years the descendants have sold all the land to people of different surnames, yet they divided only the price of the building, which was over one hundred ounces of silver."

APPENDIX 50: THE RITUAL LAND INSTITUTED BY HÊ JO

Hê Jo was a political commissioner for Shantung province in the Ch'ing dynasty. His grandfather, as a member of the Plain Yellow Banner, had received 580 *mou* of land from the government. This land was inherited by Hê Jo's father and his father's younger brother. The father immediately rented out the 200 *mou* of land that were his share, and set aside 80 *mou* of the inheritance as ritual land.

The father at his death bequeathed the land to Hê Jo, ordering him to use it to maintain the ancestral rites and to unite the *tsu*. By this time Hê Jo's eldest brother had died, but he still had two younger brothers. His father's younger brother lacking a son, the elder of Hê Jo's brothers was given to him as heir, so this person inherited one-half of the original inheritance from the grandfather. At the time of the division of property the land which Hê Jo's father had rented out was taken back, and the greater part was given to the youngest brother. The rest was converted into ritual land.

When the brother who was heir to the father's younger brother was appointed to an official position, he returned the inherited land to Hê Jo. At the time of the burial of the father's brother, Hê Jo had defrayed all the expenses. Since this is an obligation for a son, the adopted son, Hê Jo's brother, thought he had no right to keep the land. By this time Hê Jo himself had made enough money as an official to acquire 550 *mou*. In 1748 he divided this land with his youngest brother and the 580 *mou* left by his grandfather were entirely turned into ritual land, the surplus of the income from which was used to assist the poor in the *tsu*.

APPENDIX 51: THE INSTITUTION OF RITUAL LAND AND THE ERECTION OF AN ANCESTRAL HALL BY A BRANCH OF THE *TSU* OF CHOU IN CH'ANG-SHU, KIANGSU

A boy of one family in this *tsu* had inherited five *mou* of land. His parents having died early he was brought up by the wife of his father's younger brother. However, he died at the age of nineteen without offspring. Members of the *tsu* deliberated what was to be done with the five *mou* of land belonging to the dead. Most of them were for choosing an heir to the dead. The heads of the subdivisions of the *tsu* talked it over, but they found no suitable person to take over the inheritance and the performance of the

ancestral ritual for the boy. So it was decided that the land was to become ritual land, the proceeds to be used for the ancestral rites of this local branch of the Chou.

At first a man in whom all had confidence was entrusted with the management of this land. When he became too old, the four families that constituted the local branch chose a representative each to take charge of the affairs in turn. Between 1746 and 1781 the land was increased from five to forty *mu*, and the funds from the income accumulated to forty strings of cash. This money was used for building an ancestral hall for this branch of the *tsu*. Later the sons, grandsons, and nephews of these four men took over the management.

APPENDIX 52: THE COMMON LAND OF THE *TSU* OF CH'EN IN WU-HSIEN, KIANGSU

The *tsu* of Ch'ên in Wu-hsien had instituted common land and ritual land and also had acquired a building for the office of the *i-chuang*. This building was in the district city of Yuan-ho, and was to remain forever the property of the *i-chuang*. The value of the whole property was 40,000 ounces of silver.

"The living are to be assisted with funds for education and subsistence, the dead are to be provided with funerals and ancestral rites. A *chu-feng* and a *chu-kuan* (managers) are set up to administer the affairs and to superintend each other. Every year seven-tenths of the income are to be used, three-tenths are to be kept for unforeseen circumstances. If a quarrel takes place in the *tsu* the two parties must not start litigation in court without first consulting the *i-chuang*.

"The annual income is to be kept under seal in an iron safe, and is not to be lent out on interest."

APPENDIX 53: ACCOUNT OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ANCESTRAL HALL OF THE *TSU* OF HU IN SHANG-CH'UAN, ANHUI

(Based on the mss. *Tun-fu Nien-p'u* or "Autobiography of
Tun-fu," by Hu Shan)

The mss. has been preserved by Dr. Hu Shih, the son of the author. Part of it was mutilated by a fire, but the story is clear nevertheless. However, because of the many incomplete sentences it was deemed wiser not to make a direct translation, but the expressions used by the author have been retained and nothing added to their meaning.

In 1865, when the author was 25 years old, the *tsu* debated the question of erecting a new ancestral hall, the old one having been destroyed during the T'ai-p'ing Uprising in 1851. Four delegates (*szü-shih*), including the author, were chosen and commissioned to plan and carry out the project. As the author had the best ideas, he was chosen to work out a scheme for obtaining money. His plan was to raise the funds in three ways:

1. By individual compulsory contributions, each man paying 200 cash per year, other persons 100 cash each.

2. By labor contributions, each strong man between the ages of 18 and 60 performing the equivalent of two days of labor per year. Those who did not work had to pay 140 cash annually.

3. By contributions according to business enterprise, people who had capital invested in business paying one thousand to several ten-thousand cash annually according to their profits.

After the scheme was worked out, rites to the ancestors were performed to advise them of it, and then it was made public to the *tsu*, after which preparations for the work began.

During the next years the author was occupied mostly with his studies, and the other delegates were left in charge of the work concerning the ancestral hall. In 1867, on a visit to his father in Shanghai, he helped several *tsu* uncles and granduncles to urge members of the *tsu* in business there to report the amount of the annual contribution they proposed to make for the ancestral hall. They also asked each person who was an employee to give one month's salary annually. The author was able to collect \$500 in silver (Chinese currency) to take back to his village.

In 1871 the main room for keeping the ancestral tablets were completed. The members of the *tsu* wanted to leave it at that, but the author insisted that it should be finished like the old one that had been destroyed, with three sets of rooms: the front gate, the central hall, and the smaller rooms where the tablets were stored between rituals. He felt that as a plan had been formulated by which money could be obtained it was best to finish the construction. If it was discontinued the *tsu* would probably grow weary, and it would be difficult to resume work. So far few contributions had been paid and the work was sustained mainly by what the author and his two *tsu* uncles could collect in Shanghai. After the front gate and the right and left-hand buildings were completed the work stopped. As the author was the only one insisting that it should go on, and as he was studying away from home, the other delegates asked him to return, for the *tsu* members were growing tired. He consulted his teacher and was advised that, according to the classics, his duty lay in completing the ancestral hall.

When he returned he first went to see a *tsu* granduncle by the name of T'i-ch'ing, in the nearby town of Hsiu-ning, because this man was the eldest and most influential in the *tsu*. Later, when he met with the *tsu* members they complained of the inadequacy of financial means. They would need at least several years to accumulate the 3000 strings of cash (one string equals 1000 cash) necessary for terminating the construction work. He insisted it should be carried out in one year, so as not to allow the enthusiasm to die down. But the problem could not be settled.

The next year there was a reshuffling of delegates. Some had died, some lived away from the home village or took no interest in the scheme. Knowing the difficulties of realizing the original plan, each one hesitated to accept the responsibility. The author knew that the crowd was hard to argue with, "they could be made to follow, but not to know." Hence, he stopped the discussions and spent the following months measuring the completed part of the ancestral hall in detail, and calculating the costs of the materials necessary to its completion, the costs of preparing the woodwork, of transportation and all other expenditures, down to the number of nails and tiles. He

found that 3000 strings of cash would be amply sufficient, as he had told the *tsu*. He went over the account-books of contributions, determined the financial circumstances of each individual family, and estimated how much money could be asked from each one. But after two months, when he had worked out the whole scheme by which funds could be raised and used to the best advantage, he realized that he would have to devote himself completely to the task in order to bring it to completion. One of the other delegates looked up a calendar, and found the next year would be extremely propitious for dedicating the ancestral hall. He decided it must be in time for that date, even if he, the author, had to take the whole responsibility upon himself. The other man was sceptical. The next day the *tsu* was assembled and was told that next year the ancestral hall would have to be finished. They all agreed. The 15th of the 10th month was chosen for the day of inauguration. The fall and winter of this year the author spent in selecting timber for beams, travelling up and down the whole neighborhood in search of suitable wood. In this he was helped by a relative in the lumber business. All travelling expenses were borne by himself.

Early in 1873 the author moved into the building next to the ancestral hall to supervise the work and, at the same time to keep an eye on the studies of his younger brother and nephew. On the 11th day of the 1st month he assembled the other delegates to discuss with them the first steps of the undertaking. He showed them his scheme for raising funds: individual contributions to be increased ten-fold, labor contributions to be increased by the same amount, and contributions by business five-fold. All were appalled and said the *tsu* would be unable to bear this burden, it was better to reduce the dues. The author said it was too late if the work was to be terminated at all. They would have to face the fight, otherwise they could not win. Asked if they wanted to bear the blame for the failure they did not answer. The plans were then made public and able-bodied men drafted for transporting lumber from the mountains. Within the 2nd and 3rd months the wood was to be brought to the village. *Tsu* members, seeing that the lumber had been prepared and that the work was to begin at once, though grumbling about the exorbitant demands made on them for providing funds, were anxious to start so as to see the ancestral hall finished soon. The author was glad of this enthusiasm, for transportation costs would have been considerable. By using *tsu* members for the work he saved this money. Also he had purposely increased the individual and labor dues. While forgiving the transport workers their contributions he saved over a thousand strings. After the 120 men had given their work the rest would not be able to refuse the payment of contributions.

All the lumber had been cut to size and shape at the place of felling. The author visited each place, he estimated the weight of every piece, and numbered the lumber, entering all details into his book. Then he returned and sent two, four, six, eight or twelve men to each location, according to the size of the job. He gave each group a slip bearing the number of the piece of lumber they were to carry, so as to avoid conflict and confusion. After they returned, the details were entered in a book to avoid oversights. At this time there was no work to be done in the fields, so people had enough leisure for this extra work. Also, as the winter wheat had not yet sprouted, little damage was done when the roads were too narrow for the porters. Since all knew that the work

had to be done soon in order to complete the ancestral hall, they all worked cheerfully. A few men came to ask for remuneration. The author explained to them that their individual and labor contributions were to be cancelled against this work. According to the rule of the ancestors, those whose individual contributions had not been paid could not install the tablets of their family dead in the ancestral hall. Now their personal ancestors were assured of a place therein. No one objected. The transportation of lumber was completed in the 3rd month.

When he had an opportunity to visit Hsiu-ning, he urged the relatives who lived there to pay their shares and brought back some money. During the second part of the year various building materials arrived and funds became indispensable. Some *tsu* members were not doing well in business, and they could only double the original assessment. Others were well enough off to meet the new five-fold increase demanded and were eager to do so. There were many disputes among relatives and it was hard to arrange things to suit everybody. Worrying about ways to get relatives to pay, the author conceived the idea of adding two extra rooms at the end of the ancestral hall: one on the east side where the tablets of the virtuous men and women of the *tsu* would be installed, and where those who paid 500 strings of cash after their death would be associated in the sacrifices. In the room on the west side there were to be three shrines: one for the rites to those who had exerted themselves in the service of the ancestral hall, where the ancestors of those who paid 100 strings would be associated.* The shrines to the right and left were to be reserved for the ancestors of those who paid 50 strings each, these tablets to be called "those keeping company in eating." All contributions from business members since 1866 were to be put to the credit of the contributors. All those who paid twice, three times or five times the original assessment during the coming year, were to be credited with twice the amount of their contributions, which were listed in an account called the "Emergency Public Contribution." If several brothers or nephews paid the business contribution without being able to pay in full, such contributions were to be added together and the tablet of one of their ancestors installed in one of the two end-rooms so as to be associated in the enjoyment of the sacrifices. (The others were entitled to have four generations of ancestors installed). All these were to be honored with special rites at the spring and autumn equinoxes. This procedure was modelled on the system of rewards for contributions to the national treasury.

When in the 7th month the author thought of taking the provincial examination, the work was in mid-course and the other delegates were afraid of taking over the responsibility. No one would take over the author's job in his absence. So he asked a *tsu* uncle whom he knew as reliable to come and supervise the work, first paying small amounts to the merchants who had to deliver goods, and enjoining them to bring their materials, but they all agreed not to expect any more money till his return.

After his examination the author went to Shanghai where his father had fallen sick. When his father seemed to be on the road to recovery, the author set out to collect contributions. Two of his *tsu* uncles, knowing his difficulties in completing the ancestral hall, urged all members in the city to contribute to the best of their ability. All knew that he was torn by worry about his father and worry about the ancestral hall, and they

* See note under Appendix 1.

gave generously. In less than twenty days, he was able to obtain 1500 strings. He at once dispatched a letter to his home reassuring the *tsu*.

Just at this time his father died. The five sons were all in Shanghai at the time, and after placing the body in the coffin they accompanied it home.

On the journey the author fell ill of liver trouble which grew worse after his arrival at home. Yet all the delegates for the ancestral hall came daily to discuss business matters. The construction was under way, the beams had been put in place, but the work was not finished. Fortunately he had the money to satisfy the artisans. By December the work was completed. The costs were found to be just over 2930 strings, and the *tsu* members saw that the author had been right in his original estimate of 3000 strings.

The ancestral hall now had a central hall, 60 feet wide and 30 feet high, with beams 12 feet in circumference. The stone pillars in front of this hall and out on the porch were from one foot to one and one-half foot square. The original store-rooms for the ancestral tablets were hardly half the size of this new building. In all some 5000 strings of cash had been used for the structure.

However, the ancestral hall still needed inner decorations and furnishings which would cost another 3000 strings.

During 1874 the author was sick part of the time. Work on the walls and roof of the ancestral halls was completed.

In 1875 the author discussed with other scholars in the neighborhood the best arrangement of the tablets. [The account of these two years is extremely short, part of the manuscript having been destroyed by fire.]

Early in 1876 the author talked over the question of funds with his uncle. They went over the books in which the property of *tsu* members was listed and the registers of yearly income; they also examined the list of members for those who smoked opium. They found that the *tsu* spent more for opium alone than its income from rice, wheat, bamboo and tea, and was maintained entirely by remittances from members abroad. The author told his uncle that the work on the ancestral hall must be finished within this year, or the *tsu* would so deteriorate that it could never be done. The uncle asked how he was going to raise the money since all possible contributions had been collected. The author showed him from a list that a number had not yet paid. According to the rule of the ancestors, whoever had not paid the dues could not place the tablets of his recent ancestors in the hall. So the delinquents would have to pay. The uncle asked: what if some people refused contributions even though their ancestors were neglected. Moreover, payments would not come in till the ancestral hall was ready for opening, while the workmen had to be paid as soon as the work was done. The author said he believed that if the relatives abroad were notified to return for the first ritual in the new hall, the stubborn members would not dare to refuse when the neighboring *tsu* and their ancestral halls sent presents and the relatives-in-law began to arrive. Meanwhile, payment for the workers could be put off until the completion of the work. The uncle said: "If you can take the responsibility, do so, I don't dare to." The author had studied books on ritual and had decided to arrange the ancestral tablets on the right and left in alternate generations, beginning with the first ancestor. The uncle said it looked all right to him, but all the *tsu* in the neighborhood placed their first ancestor in the center; the members

of the *tsu* might think this new arrangement too extraordinary. But the author wished to establish this new way. If there was too much objection, they could always return to the old system.

One day, speaking to a *tsu* uncle, the author mentioned the fact that only 300 strings were needed immediately for the completion of the hall on schedule. The uncle promised to lay out the sum. The date chosen for the inauguration was the 13th of the 10th month.

The *tsu* granduncle T'i-ch'ing was most influential. He was prosperous and had over twenty brothers (i.e. cousins) by the same grandfather. *Tsu*-members used to call him "hsien-sheng"—"sir." When he had been asked to undertake the building of the ancestral hall he had refused on the grounds of age and the distance of his residence from the village. He had known the difficulties involved, having witnessed the building of the former ancestral hall. He had suggested that the author, his uncle and another *tsu* uncle be appointed for the task. The delegates for the ancestral hall had consulted him whenever an important step was taken, to be sure of his support, and they had always been encouraged by this granduncle. This man's son, however, was not well disposed toward the author and had sometimes insinuated that the latter was trying to appropriate the dues for his own use. Now, in the 3rd month of 1876 this *tsu* uncle offered a suggestion, allegedly from his father, that at the inauguration of the ancestral hall all those who had not paid their dues in money or labor were to be forgiven, and their ancestor's tablets accepted regardless, just as the government at times forgives taxes to the destitute. Those who had not yet paid their contributions to the ancestral hall were most of them tricky men and hence rejoiced at these words. They went so far as to deride those who had paid their dues beforehand, priding themselves on having withheld the contributions for so long. The author would not listen to such a suggestion and maintained that the rule must not be broken. A group of the delinquent members went to visit the granduncle T'i-ch'ing and were met by his son in the near-by town. He rejoiced that his trick was working, and told the delegation that the author wanted to control the construction work ("run the show himself"), but that he and his near relatives would see to it that the *tsu* had its say, so that the ancestral hall would not be dominated by the author alone. He said there was no need to see his father, and so they did not consult the latter.

In the 6th month the author had to leave for another examination. Before his departure he had a conversation with an uncle, begging him to lay out \$200 for the workmen. He himself would be going to Shanghai after the examination to collect business dues for the year. He explained that he would not return until the 9th month, close to the inauguration date. Therefore he knew that before he left the workmen would come to ask that their wages be paid at least in part. They would have to be satisfied, so as to assure the smooth continuation of the work. He expected, too, that the relatives from Hsiuning would stir up trouble when the time came. If Granduncle T'i-ch'ing would be present personally at the dedication, "on the basis of feeling and reason" there was the possibility of a peaceful settlement. If his sons came there was likely to be an acute conflict, but by that time the work would be finished. The author would have fulfilled his duty to his ancestors, and he could therefore justify himself in front of the *tsu*, which at the dedication would include relatives who had come from far away to take part. Now if the

opposition wanted to take over the affairs of the ancestral hall, they would be welcome to do so, if they acknowledged the debts incurred. If they refused to, he, the author, would remain adamant and other members would have to compose the quarrel, and at least the enemies could not speak for those who refused to pay their dues. The *tsu* uncle with whom he was having this conversation agreed to lay out the \$200. His own uncle, who was also present, expressed the opinion that Granduncle T'i-ch'ing would not appear on the occasion and he himself had always disliked to speak to T'i-ch'ing's sons. Hence, when they arrived he was determined to close his doors and begging his nephew's pardon, he would refuse to see them. (This uncle was one of the delegates for the ancestral hall.) His nephew, laughing, said it was all right.

They further discussed whether they should provide a theatrical performance for the opening of the ancestral hall, as had always been done. The author said it would be essential to provide it. He also said he would start the registration for the new genealogy on the very date of the hall's dedication. It was necessary to give the opening of the ancestral hall as much *éclat* as possible. The performance and the registration for the genealogy would satisfy the expectations of the members of the *tsu*, so it would not be difficult to register on the spot the ancestors whose tablets were being brought in, and to trace their relationship to the membership as given in previous genealogies. He planned to raise the dues for entering the tablets of the ancestors and for registration in the genealogical lists from 60 to 300 cash. This would give the opposition another argument for attack. However, they could not restrain the delegates for the ancestral hall from performing the rites for the first ancestor and various other ancestors, including those of the people who had paid their dues and contributed their labor as required. However, in the face of the delegates from neighboring ancestral halls and the relatives-in-law of all *tsu* members who would be present to enjoy the theatrical performances, the feeling for justice would not be lacking and the *tsu* would not all follow the opposition. They might feel ashamed to continued the dispute at all. Yet he deplored the weakness of their own following, which made a strong stand difficult. He foresaw that, when the individuals from Hsiu-ning came, the discontented would flock to them "like a boiling cauldron, like a river breaking its dam." However, he foresaw that other delegates, afraid of being implicated, would keep away. Not only would the very few who were determined to make a stand have to face a crowd, but they had many tasks before them: the purchase of equipment and of sacrificial animals to be used at the rites, the greeting of guests who came to congratulate them, the preparation of the offerings and the feast, the working out of the accounts of dues already paid and still outstanding, the receiving of dues that would come in, the registration of the tablets of various ancestors, the supervision of the theatrical entertainment and of the workmen around the ancestral hall. Without a doubt many quarrels about inheritances would be taken to the ancestral hall for arbitration, and there would be accusations against persons for accepting inheritances without sending in the tablets of the persons they were heir to. He foresaw great difficulties in attending to all these different details. However, answering a question by one uncle, he said, since his cause was right and his goal a great one, he intended to stand up for his program with body and spirit. He knew that his opponents dared not fight before they had assembled; but during the first ten days of the 10th

month, when the ancestral hall was about ready, the trouble-makers would gather their strength and start a quarrel. As they grew in strength, his party would grow weaker, and who knew where the troublemakers would stop. However, even though he, the author, failed, the ancestral hall would be completed, and in some way the rites would be performed and his efforts through ten long years would not be spent in vain. "Since I undertook this work as the member of a younger generation, if they accuse me of grabbing power, I have no way to argue for myself. How can I hold out to the end?" However, he was determined to hold out as long as possible, and not to show any weakness till the inevitable happened. If his party showed no determination at this point, their cause would be lost.

After the examination he, together with two *tsu* uncles, collected \$1000 in Shanghai from business relatives, much to his joy. When he returned in the middle of the 9th month, his son was sick and the bad news came that he himself had failed in the provincial examinations (as he had previously), but, disregarding everything, he plunged into the work relating to the ancestral hall.

The members who had not paid their individual and labor contributions came to ask whether their ancestors could be installed first and the dues paid later. The author refused. They argued that all *tsu* members agreed that it was all right; how could he alone object? He asked if they were prepared to take over the responsibility for the debts incurred. They evaded the question and still maintained that, the ancestral hall being the property of the whole *tsu*, its affairs had to be decided by the whole *tsu* and not by him alone. He asked whether it was reasonable for the *tsu* to champion those who were in arrears with contributions for many years, without thinking of some way of paying the debts? They had no answer.

Very soon, someone warned the author that some of his opponents had ordered swords from the blacksmith. He would not be moved. More reports came that eighty men in the village had equipped themselves with a sword each to fight him. He thought the situation over, then decided that if he showed fear, they would become all the stronger. So he ordered two coffins made, one for the future use of his mother, one for himself. When his mother heard of this, she reproved him severely. He explained the situation to her in detail. Privately he told his younger brother not to be afraid. Should he actually be killed, the brother was to place his body in the coffin, and to install the latter in the central hall of the ancestral hall. "To have built this ancestral hall by straining to the limit the resources of the *tsu* members, in order to house my coffin, will be a satisfaction to me though I die (literally, 'I shall have no regrets to die')," he said sarcastically. When the coffin was completed, the author asked the elders and the delegates for the ancestral hall to move into the offices of the ancestral hall to await him.

In the first days of the 10th month the *tsu* uncles from Hsiu-ning came, together with their brothers and cousins, some twenty men in all, but not the granduncle. They felt that the *tsu* members had acted too rashly, and came with kind words to beg the ancestral hall to have mercy on the poor in the *tsu* who were unable to pay their dues. In this way they tried to advance their own plan. The author laughed at them, saying that they did not have to beg at all. The members of the *tsu* had prepared eighty swords already, he himself had prepared his coffin and was just waiting for them (that is, the

leaders of the opposition) to fight it out. "When I die, you gentlemen can take over." The uncles protested that there was no such intention, nobody had swords. The author turned to the crowd that followed them and, laughing, told the recalcitrants that their swords being ready, they might just as well go ahead. The uncles were afraid that some accident might happen and ordered the crowd to retire. Continuing their discussion with the author in private, they asked whether he suspected they had come to fight him to the finish. He said he did not have to suspect it. The *tsu* members had threatened him, but so far they had lacked a leader. Now the uncles had come. The ancestral hall was completed, and he, the author, felt he had done his duty to the ancestors. He believed he could not escape the catastrophe; he did not have to imagine the danger. This was the 7th, he reminded them, only five days before the date fixed for the installment of the ancestral tablets. If he did not die, he would be an obstacle to them. If they did not carry out their purpose quickly, they would not have time for the rest of the work. They still maintained that they were trying to negotiate peacefully with him. He asked what was there to negotiate. It was the rule of the ancestors that when dues had not been paid by an individual, his ancestral tablets could not go up into the ancestral hall. That was not his ordinance, 2000 more strings of cash were needed to pay for the work and the equipment of the ancestral hall. He had planned to pay this with the contributions which some people had owed for many years, and with the fees for entering the ancestral tablets and for registration in the genealogy. If only the uncles would take the responsibility of paying this sum out of their own pockets, the ancestral hall would be free of debt and the members of the *tsu* would be most grateful to them. They said they were unable to take the responsibility upon themselves. The author answered: "During the last few years, I have borne the responsibility for the ancestral hall alone. You uncles may have heard of the innumerable difficulties connected with it. And yet, this small matter (which I lay before you) you cannot take upon yourselves? If you will not take it upon yourselves, I still have to bear it, and I certainly shall not shirk it. Yet you come trying to change the rule of the ancestors and to mislead the *tsu*, so as to cause difficulties for me and bring disaster on the affairs of the ancestral hall. For what purpose is that?" They explained that they wanted to talk it over with the elders and the other delegates for the ancestral hall. The author told them that the others were too frightened to appear. He alone did not fear death and awaited his "punishment" at the ancestral hall. They might try to ask the delegates to come, he was unable to persuade them.

The next day the uncles had persuaded the other delegates and elders to gather together. They did not raise their voices again for those who refused to pay their dues, and only alleged that the *tsu* did not like the arrangement of the tablets, by which the first ancestor would be placed on one side. Since the day before the author had insisted the "rule of the ancestors" be observed, they now used the same argument, charging that he was arbitrarily changing the original arrangement. The author said, when the plan for the new arrangement was devised, he had consulted their father, Granduncle T'i-ch'ing, and, showing him the diagrams, had obtained his consent. Before the ancestral hall was completed he had once more gone with the other delegates to ask his advice. One son of the granduncle now present knew of the plan, and at the time had not expressed disapproval. The individual in question now said that he never had

approved of it. The author asked where in the classics he found the system which the *tsu* demanded, by which the first ancestor would be placed in the center, and the other ancestors on the right and left according to sex (this being the arrangement common in this neighborhood). He challenged the uncle to find the passage in the classics to prove his point. The uncle said though the classics did not prescribe it, the ancestors had practiced it for many years. He, the author, had no right to change it arbitrarily. The author asked him whether he could be considered arbitrary, since he had formulated the plan only after consultation with the other delegates, and then had personally consulted his opponent's father about the plan. The uncle said that even his father could not change the institution at will. The author countered that if his opponent dared openly in the ancestral hall to blame his own father for changing the system, he, the author, would also have to accept personally the same blame. However, in the matter of ancestral rites, *li* (ceremonial) was involved. If an act is in accordance with *li*, a change is right and a neglect of this change is wrong, for the *li* is directly related to *i* (duty). The question was whether the change was in accordance with *li* or not. The uncles still maintained that the system used by the ancestors could not be changed, or the members of the *tsu* would not follow him. The author then pointed out that the last time when the building of the ancestral hall had been completed, the tablets of ancestors in mythical times had been abolished. How could that change have been effected by their predecessors, if the system of the ancestors was always to be maintained in its entirety? The uncles had no more argument and the crowd gradually dispersed.

The situation grew more tense. The other delegates kept away and left the author alone to confront the opposition. His mother was much concerned about his health and safety, and sent his brother to call him home. But he could not leave, although he felt extremely weary. Meanwhile the opposition did not insist on refusing the dues, but concentrated their demands on the point that the old arrangement of the ancestral tablets be retained. His own uncle now sent advice that the author should give in on this point and stop the dispute. Some other *tsu* uncles also asked him to give in on the most important points. On the 9th the neighboring ancestral halls began sending congratulatory gifts. Members of the *tsu* who had paid their dues came to ask for tablets on which to inscribe the names of their ancestors and to ask for registration in the genealogy. But there was only the author to take care of all the work involved. On the 10th his mother came personally to the ancestral hall to reprimand him severely. So he finally agreed that the tablets of the ancestors be arranged in the old way. On the 11th the conversion was effected by placing the tablet of the first ancestor in the center, but his idea that each individual bring four generations of ancestors to the ancestral hall was retained.

On the 12th all preparations for the rites were completed, offerings made ready, rites explained by the author, etc. On the 13th the tablets of the first ancestor and several other ancestors up to the time this branch of the Ming-chin Hu (see App. 18) had moved into the village, were installed. Representatives of the ancestral halls of neighboring *tsu* came to present their congratulations and relatives-in-law of all *tsu* members arrived for the same purpose. The recalcitrant members of the *tsu* now came forward to pay all their dues, because they could not bear not to see their ancestors installed with the rest. The author and the other delegates were kept very busy. The income from the

dues, plus the money collected in Shanghai, was ample to pay for everything. However, there being few helpers, some workers had to be hired to perform different kinds of work. The theatrical performance for the entertainment of the guests lasted six days. Much as the author deplored the expense, it had to be held for the prestige of the *tsu*.

After everything was over, the debts incurred and all expenses of the rites and entertainment were paid, the ancestral hall was still left with 300 strings of cash. The only job left incomplete was the list for the genealogy.

The building of the ancestral hall had cost a total of 13,300 strings of cash from 1866-1876 and was paid entirely out of contributions of members. The finances of the *tsu* had been drained and the forces of the author strained to the limit.

At the winter solstice the author asked for the privilege of performing the rites for the first ancestor himself in spite of his status as a member of a younger generation (he was 36 years old at this time). The other delegates granted that he had a right to lead the ritual at the first winter solstice after the completion of the ancestral hall. After the ritual there was a gathering of all members over 60 years of age, and of those who had achieved a rank through examinations, 160 persons in all, and they went through the ceremony of drinking together. At this banquet the author explained that he had taken the responsibility for building the ancestral hall because his uncle had always wished to see it done, and because he had been entrusted with it by the older members of the *tsu*. He recounted his difficulties which almost led to the loss of his life. He gave thanks to the spirits of the ancestors and the presence in the *tsu* of a great number of people who, knowing *i* (duty), had contributed to the limit of their ability, so that the construction finally could be completed. He formally handed over the keys of the ancestral hall, the account-books and drawings relating to the building and announced his determination to retire from office. The crowd wanted him to stay, as there were various matters that still had to be wound up. They praised his endurance and tenacity which had brought the construction work to a successful finish. His fellow-delegates expressed the wish to retire with him, since according to regulations the *szü-shih* should be changed once every five years. Now they had been in office for 12 years and a number of them had retired during this time. When the first part of the ancestral hall had been completed they had wanted to give up their office, but the author had prevailed upon them to stay until the work was terminated. Now they felt this was the time for them to retire.

The author was adamant in his determination to hand the office to another person to be appointed by the elders. He pointed out that when his group had taken over the ancestral hall it was but a heap of rubble, without a penny in its treasury. Now the work was done, there was still plenty of money left, after all the equipment had been provided for adequately. All that was left to do now was to prepare the offerings at the right season and carry out the ritual to the ancestors. They, the elders of the *tsu*, could perform these duties very well.

Three days later he reassembled them, and asked who had been chosen as his successor, but the answer was that there was no one to take over. Then the author and the other delegates put on their ceremonial robes and caps and advised the ancestors of their decision. They sealed the books and locked the cupboard and storerooms. The keys were left at the home of the head of the *tsu* and everyone went home.

Someone asked him: what if by the next spring equinox the *tsu* still had not chosen

a person to succeed him. His answer was: "I performed my duty according to the best of my ability, because my ancestor's souls had no place to which they could attach themselves. Now they have such a place. Should it happen that by the next spring equinox the members of the *tsu* do not perform the rites, I shall personally prepare food and wine to offer to the ancestors, thus still attempting to perform my duty to the best of my ability. If I did not retire, the *tsu* would suspect I had the intention of keeping my office permanently by any means, and I would have no way of clearing myself. There is *i* that has to be performed, and there are times when action is appropriate. Formerly I was asked by the *tsu* to retire and I would not do so; now I am asked to remain in office and I will not do so; this is because I act according to the exigency of time and *i*."

APPENDIX 54: THE EXTENSION OF BENEFITS FROM THE *I-T'IENT* OF THE *TSU* OF LIËN IN SHAO HSING, CHEKIANG

In 1886 the *tsu* of Liën in Shang-yü, that is Shao-hsing, in Chekiang instituted 1500 *mou* of common land.

With the funds obtained from this land "the widowers, widows, orphans and childless people of the neighborhood, even those of other surnames, are to be cared for. Those in need of money for mourning, funeral or marriage are to be assisted. The hungry are to be fed. Those who are cold are to be given clothes. The sick ones are to receive medicines and the dead ones coffins. An *i*-graveyard is instituted, so that no coffin will remain unburied. A fire-engine has been acquired to be prepared for fire hazards."

"... Then they instituted an *i-chuang*. In the midst of it was a hall, called *Ching-mu*-Hall. This was the place of assembly for the *tsu*. A granary and barns for the rice straw, with the dehydrating canals, everything was well prepared."

The establishment of this *i-chuang* was reported to the central government and the next year a banner with a laudatory inscription was presented to the *tsu* bearing the words "Enjoying the dispensing of charity and loving to give."

APPENDIX 55: REGULATIONS REGARDING THE COMMON GRANARY OF THE *TSU* OF WANG IN CHÊN-CHIANG, KIANGSU

"An *i-ts'ang* is to be established. Every year, after the 15th of the 1st month, members of the *tsu* who are poor are to go to the ancestral hall and ask for a certificate. The manager for that year is to consider who should receive a loan, and report his opinion to the head of the *tsu*. After the approval of the latter has been obtained, the names are entered into a book. After the 1st of the 2nd month, the rice is to be given out according to the entries in the book. During the 10th month the manager is to collect the outstanding loans. To each bushel refunded is to be added an interest of two *tou*. During famine years the interest is to be cut by one *tou*. During a severe famine the interest is to be waived, and the return of the capital is to be put off till the next year, when the interest for the current year is to be added. If there are some who wickedly and obstinately try to put off payment, the head of the *tsu* should have the culprit arrested in the 11th month and should examine him severely. On the 15th of the 12th month the

manager is to hand in his accounts. If he has been lenient with a debtor and did not press for the return of a loan, he is to be fined twice the amount that is owed to the ancestral hall. The next year he may not continue in his position."

APPENDIX 56: THE LIU-YÜAN *I-CHUANG* IN WU-HSIEN, KIANGSU

The *i-chuang* instituted by Sheng Hsü-jen in 1868 was named the Liu-yüan *I-chuang*. The founder decreed that the annual income be divided into ten parts. One part was to be turned over to the Chüeh-yüan *I-chuang* which was subsidizing all those descended from the founder's grandfather in marriages and funerals. Another part was to go to the Chia-shan-t'ang, a hall next to the *i-chuang*, where the relatives-in-law and old friends of the family could find assistance. The other eight parts were to be divided equally between the rich and the poor among the descendants of the founder for all time to come.

"Therefore, looking at it from my position at the present time, it (i.e. this arrangement) seems to be selfish. When my sons and grandsons have held it for generation after generation, it will be seen that it is for the common benefit and unselfish."

APPENDIX 57: THE HUAI-I-T'ANG *I-CHUANG* OF THE TSU OF WANG OF CH'ANG-SHU, KIANGSU

(From the Regulations drawn up in 1824 and amended in 1859)

a) The ancestral hall at the *i-chuang*.

"An ancestral hall is contributed to the *i-chuang*, with the school of the *i-chuang* attached to it. . . . In the hall to the rear are to be installed the tablets of the first ancestor . . . , the 2nd generation ancestor who moved to Yü (northwestern part of Ch'ang-shu) and of the other ancestors of this branch. The descendants who come to the *i-chuang* are to greet the ancestors to show that they remember those who were their origin."

"The ancestral rites are to be performed at the ancestral hall in the *i-chuang* on the 15th of the first month. . . . All those who receive rice from the *i-chuang*, except for women and invalids, are to attend the rites in person. Anyone who stays away for no good reason is to have his allowance withheld for one month, as a warning to those who have no respect for the ancestors."

b) Beneficiaries of the *i-chuang*.

"In providing assistance for the *tsu*, since all descendants of the *tsu* are of one origin, no difference should be made. However, our *tsu* having multiplied to a considerable number, and the income being limited, it is feared that distribution of assistance to all members will exhaust its means, and thus the *i-chuang* will not be able to carry on forever. So the assistance should be limited according to a definite system. It is now decided that in the branch descended from the 7th generation ancestor Hai-jih-kung all are to receive assistance in accordance with the regulations. Those who do not belong to the branch of Hai-jih-kung are not allowed to ask for help at the *i-chuang*. Should in

the future some persons who care for *i* contribute much more land, so that there will be a sufficient income, regulations concerning the handing out of more assistance are to be debated."

c) The managers of the *i-chuang*.

Three honest and capable men are to be chosen, one as *szü-cheng* (general manager), the other two as *szü-fu* (assistant managers). They may be members of the *tsu* of Wang, or they may belong to another *tsu*, the decision resting with the descendants of the founder. The general manager is to be in charge of all the affairs, while the assistant managers are to have specific duties assigned to each. "Thus the duties are assigned to definite persons and the power cannot be exercised by any single individual."

The general manager is to receive 40 ounces of silver, his assistants 20 ounces annually, to be paid in monthly instalments.

When the term of three years expires and the general manager has performed his duties faultlessly, he may be asked to stay on. The term of office for the assistant managers is one year.

Amendment in 1859: The general manager is to choose his own accountant for the *i-chuang*, so that when funds are embezzled, he will be responsible. "Besides, when there are many people who suggest candidates for a post, it is hard to decide which one to appoint."

Supervision of the management by the descendants of the founder

1. "When the money collected as rent . . . accumulates to 6000 strings of cash, it is to be sealed and entered in the accounts in the presence of our *t'ang*, until it is to be used for adding land to the *i-chuang*. Every month, on the first and the 15th, it is to be gone over once and compared with the entries in the accounts, so as to exercise strict supervision. Should some of the money have been used for private purposes, when it has been detected by our *t'ang*, the general manager and his assistants are to be punished."

2. If there is a question as to the eligibility of certain members for subsidies or rice allowances it is to be settled by the general manager of the *i-chuang* in consultation with our *t'ang*. The question as to who is to receive an allowance or subsidies is to be left to the general manager and our *t'ang*. Anyone refusing to abide by their decision is to be punished.

3. Every spring the general manager is to visit the nine graveyards of the ancestors of the founder's line together with our *t'ang*.

4. The choice of the managers is left with the descendants of the founder.

5. The descendants of the founder are to supervise the accounts of the *i-chuang*, and, when the money embezzled amounts to more than one string, they are to indict the manager in front of the local authorities. Decisions concerning the sale of rice and wheat can be made by the general manager only after consultation with our *t'ang*. The first of every month the account of the income and expenditures for the previous month are to be sent to the Huai-i-t'ang for future reference.

6. When the general manager leaves at the end of his term, he has to give a de-

tailed account of the money that passed through his hands, of the account-books and seals handed to him at the beginning of his term by his predecessor, of the grain and money still in storage. Of this account two copies must be made: one for his successor, so that he may take over the property after checking each item, the other for the Huai-i-t'ang.

7. An amendment in 1859: The families descended from the founder are to take turns in checking the accounts of the *i-chuang* every month. Any abuse is to be reported at once to the manager, so that he may take another assistant. If a sum of money is really missing, the guilty one is to refund it.

d) Prohibition to rent *i-t'ien* to members of the *tsu*.

"No matter whether a person receives a rice allowance from the *i-chuang* or not, he may not rent the *i-t'ien*, nor may he borrow the buildings of the *i-chuang* for his residence, nor use the objects of the *i-chuang*, nor temporarily store his tools or goods there. If the manager does not prevent such practices, he is to be fined one-tenth of the value of the borrowed articles, which money is to be added to the common fund, and the original articles etc. are to be restored. Should something be borrowed and never returned, the value is to be deducted from the salary of the general manager."

e) Subsidies of the *i-chuang* for neighbors.

"After the establishment of the *i-chuang* pity should be shown to the people in the neighborhood of the founder's home. All men and women over fifty in the same *t'u** who lack winter clothing are to be given one padded coat each. The *ti-ling*** must come to the *i-chuang* to register the names of those who live in this *t'u*. The manager, after ascertaining the truth, is to distribute about one hundred pieces every year between the winter solstice and the end of the year."

"Should someone die without being able to provide a coffin, the *t'i-ling* is to come to the *i-chuang* to register the name of the individual in this *t'u*, and the manager upon ascertaining the truth of his words is to give a coffin. Every year over twenty coffins are to be prepared in spring."

f) *I*-graveyards.

The founder "contributes 11 *mou* of land to be used as graveyards for the *tsu* and other people. Of this land 3.5 *mou* are to serve as a graveyard of the *tsu*, where those in the *tsu* who are without means are to be buried. 6.5 *mou* are to serve as *i-chung*, where people in the neighborhood who are without means may be buried. Another 11.7 *mou* are contributed which bring 3.31 *tan* of wheat and 7.97 *tan* of beans in rent. This income is to serve to pay the taxes on the grave-land and to defray the expenses of the rites at the graves. The authorities have already been advised of this and the land has been registered."

* The *t'u* is a subdivision of the county in Kiangsu.

** A person held responsible for order in a certain neighborhood.

APPENDIX 58: THE *I-CHUANG* OF THE *TSU* OF YANG IN CHIANG-YIN, KIANGSU

This *i-chuang* consisted of 1001.33476 *mou*.

a) Management.

"Each of the lines descended from the 7th generation ancestor Hung-shêng-kung is to elect a head of the *fang*. The case of every descendant who is poor enough to qualify for subsidies according to the regulations is to be ascertained by the head of the *fang*, and placed on a list, which is to be handed to the manager of the *i-chuang* to be closely examined. Only after the truth has been verified is it permissible to issue a rice allowance to that person."

A Certificate is issued on the 1st of the 12th month, and is to be presented on the first of the month for the rice allotment of that month.

"Only women, juveniles, invalids, and those who have some important business at home may ask a near relative to take their certificate and to receive the allotment for them. All others have to fetch it in person and may not send another person to receive it in their stead. The manager is to issue the rice allotment when he sees the certificate; otherwise he must not give it."

"The chief manager and his assistant. The chief manager is to be called *tsung-kuan*, the accountant *szü-chang*. For *tsung-kuan* a capable, honest and just descendant of the founder has to be chosen. No outsider is to be employed for this position. The *szü-chang* is to be selected by the *tsung-kuan*. The *tsung-kuan* is to take care of the incoming and outgoing money and of all the other affairs. The *szü-chang* is to be in charge only of the rents and the keeping of accounts. All items of income and expenditure throughout the year are to be recorded one by one and checked for their accuracy. Two itemized accounts are to be drawn up, one to be kept at the *i-chuang*, and the other to be sent to the branch of the founder for examination.

"Neither the *tsung-kuan*, nor the *szü-chang* may leave the *i-chuang* at will. The *tsung-kuan* is to receive 70 strings, the *szü-chang* 50 strings of cash annually as compensation. They are not allowed to draw their salary in advance or to overdraw it. If they are careless in inspecting the incoming and outgoing money and rice, so as to cause a loss, they are to be made to refund it. As to the workers employed in the granary and for urging tenants to pay rent, they must not bear our surname, so as to avoid abuses."

"The *i-chuang* always has had definite regulations, which the descendants in charge must adhere to in running the *i-chuang*, so that the responsibility may be placed on one pair of shoulders. The *tsu* members may not violate the rules or interfere. If at some time there is evidence that the person in charge of the *i-chuang* is really guilty of fraud and deception, then the *tsu* members are allowed to debate the matter and sentence him to a refund. If some *tsu* member denounces the man with calumnies, and thus confuses the rules of the *i-chuang*, the descendants of the founder are to assemble the *tsu* members to accuse and punish the culprit."

b) Subsidies.

"Those who own 30 *mou* or more are not to receive a rice allowance. Those who own real estate in the town, or have capital to run a business, or are making more than

40 strings of cash from some business, are not to receive it. Absent persons are not to receive it; nor are idle persons who have wasted their inheritance, to receive it, even in old age, though their families may. Criminals who dishonor their ancestors are not to receive it. Followers of alien creeds are not to receive it. Those who adopt children of another surname, or give their own children to be adopted by people of another surname are not to receive the rice allowance."

The rice and clothing allowance is distributed to:

Old people: Beginning with the age of 51 they are to receive 1.5 *ton* monthly; after the age of 60, 2 *ton*; after the age of 70, 2.4 *ton*; after the age of 80, 3.6 *ton*. Beginning with the age of 60 each receive \$2 every three years for winter clothing and \$1.5 every five years for summer clothing.

Widows: Beginning with the age of sixty she receives 1.5 *ton* for each individual in the family. A woman who becomes a widow under the age of thirty and never remarries, receives 2 *ton* for herself.

Orphan: Under ten years of age he or she receives 8 *shêng* of rice every month; after ten years of age 1.2 *ton*. Boys continue to receive the allowance until they are seventeen, girls until their marriage. While they are young they receive a padded coat and trousers once every winter. After the age of five once every five years. The guardian receives 1 *ton* as compensation.

Incapacitated: Under the age of sixteen they are treated like the orphans. From seventeen to sixty years of age they receive 1.5 *ton* of rice monthly.

Various Subsidies:

Education: Pupils of primary schools: \$6 per year; of institutions higher than primary \$12 annually.

Funerals: Coffining expenses \$10; funeral expenses \$8. Unmarried persons receive one-half of the above, children under ten none.

Weddings: For taking a wife \$14; for taking a second wife when there is no son, \$8; for the wedding of a daughter \$12.

Apprenticeship in trade or craft: The boy receives \$4 a year for three years.

Married daughter if destitute: The same as a widow, but her husband and children receive no assistance.

c) Graves of the *tsu* members.

"The graves of *tsu* members who have no descendants to care for them are to be taken care of by the *i-chuang*. Every year at the Clear-and-Brightness Festival the *tsung-kuan* is to go in person and perform the rites, offer food, ritual money, boats and sedan chairs (i.e., all made of paper), *ling-tun* (unknown) etc., which are all to be paid for by the *i-chuang*. A special list is to be made of these graves and the regulations concerning them. At the end of the year the guardian of the graves is to be given instructions regarding these regulations."

d) The increase of the land of the *i-chuang*.

"If there are those among the members of the *tsu* who want to contribute land to the *i-chuang*, no matter how much or how little, it is all evidence of their love for *i* (duty). All this land is to be placed under the management of the descendant in charge

of the *i-chuang*. The contributors may not make this an excuse for meddling with the affairs of the *i-chuang*. Those who give more than one hundred *mou* or 1000 ounces of silver are entitled to be associated with the founder in the rites at the *i-chuang* as a reward. Regardless of the size of their contribution, the donations of all are to be inscribed on stone as evidence for posterity."

Whenever one hundred *mou* are added to the *i-t'ien* the authorities are to be notified of it, and the donation is to be inscribed on stone.

APPENDIX 59: THE ANCESTRAL HALLS IN KWANGTUNG

". . . In one rural district there may be one *hsing* (people of one surname), or two or three *hsing*. Since the T'ang and Sung dynasties they have lived here side by side, making a living from the soil and enjoying their sons. Few of them move to other regions. Their main line of descent and branches each possess an ancestral hall. . . . A *tsu* of one thousand people will have several ten ancestor halls. Even small *hsing*, or single families, where the *tsu* members do not even number one hundred, will have several ancestral halls. The ancestral hall known as 'big *tsung-tz'u*' is the temple of the first ancestor.

"The head of the *tsu* reads the instructions of the ancestors at the ancestral hall on the 1st and 15th of every month. The rules regarding the care of the aged, the respect for the wise, the reward for goodness and punishment of evil also emanate from the ancestral hall."

The author describes a "small *tsung-tz'u*":

"There are two small rooms, one on each side, to store the tablets of those ancestors who have been set aside. The main hall has three shrines, each divided into three parts: In the central shrine the upper story belongs to the first ancestor, the next story to those ancestors among his descendants who have won merit and are not to be set aside at any time. In the lowest story are the four generations of ancestors whom the *tsung-tzu* has to honor. When the close relationship bond (i.e. within the five mourning degrees) is extinguished, the tablets are removed. The shrine on the left exalts the virtuous: the tablets of all the descendants who have virtue and are able to help the members of their *tsu*, setting an example for the neighborhood and arbitrating quarrels, are placed here to receive the rites and they are never set aside. The shrine on the right rewards merit. The tablets of all descendants who can build up the ancestral hall on a big scale, or reorganize it when it has fallen into disorder, or add to the ritual land, are placed here to receive the ancestral rites, and they are never set aside. Those who do not belong here are placed in the home of their eldest son."

APPENDIX 60: MEMORIAL CONCERNING *TSU* FIGHTS IN KWANGTUNG (1766)

"The people of Kwangtung mostly live gathered together by *tsu*. Each *tsu* has erected ancestral halls, and each has attached to it some ritual land, called *shang-tsu*. The ritual land of the large *tsu* may amount to as much as several thousand *mou*; even small *tsu* may have several hundred *mou*. The rent in grain for every year is collected in

turn (by individual families or lines). After the costs of the ancestral ritual and payment for taxes is deducted, the rest is sold and the money made to bear interest. Accumulating day by day and month by month, it amounts to several hundred or several thousand or ten-thousand. The members of large *tsu* are all wealthy and there is no one among them who does not rely on his strength to oppress the weak, or does not lead the many to terrorize the few (i.e. the small *tsu*). If the strength of the two *tsu* is equal and there is doubt with regard to the victory, then the *tsu* is assembled in the ancestral hall and organized before starting out for the fight. They are promised that all in the *tsu* who are wounded in the fight are to be richly rewarded out of the money from the ritual land, so as to enable them to purchase remedies. Those who die of wounds received are to have their ancestral tablets entered into the ancestral hall and some ritual land is to be given to their widow and children for their maintenance. In case someone in the enemy *tsu* be killed, if there is someone who is willing to take the crime upon himself, he is to be entered into the ancestral hall and his family given land the same as those dying of their wounds. Thus, criminals who have forfeited their life regard these fights as a means for making profit. When the fight is joined each is eager to be in the front ranks and many lives are lost. When the authorities want to arrest the culprits, there are those on both sides who will take the crime upon themselves. The official undertaking the investigation wants to punish the offender according to the statements made, but the real culprits have already evaded the law, and the criminals have even less fear in perpetrating their evil deeds. This is all due to the evil practices connected with the ritual land."

APPENDIX 61: MEMORIAL REGARDING THE ABUSES OF THE ANCESTRAL HALLS IN KIANGSI (1764)

"According to my investigations, the ancestral halls of the *hsing* cannot trace their ancestry to one origin. They are mostly taken advantage of by the men from poor families without *tsu* relationship, who like to boast of themselves by considering themselves members of some illustrious *tsu*, or some lawmongers and rascals who make profit in this way. They will go from city to village, from county to *fu* (larger than county) collecting money to build up an ancestral hall. They will fraudulently give themselves out as the descendants of some famous men, and all the worthless characters struggle to imitate them, so that there are many of this kind.

"The money left over from the building of the ancestral hall is used either to buy more land or is stored as money or grain, often being lent out to members of the same *hsing*. The simple people who depend on the ancestral hall are thus exploited by having to pay interest. The interest from the accumulated rent having no other use, it provides funds that may be touched, and the ancestral hall provides a place to live in. So those people (mentioned above) will start a lawsuit on the slightest pretext and show their toughness and greed. This is the reason that lawsuits are so plentiful and that ruffians band together.

"The tablets of very distant ancestors who cannot be accounted for are all sent to the ancestral halls by this one or that one, most of them being the ancestors of the

families. Further, the past is explored to find the ancestor who was the first one to receive the surname, as well as famous men in the past, in order to establish them as common ancestors. . . . What is worse, the tablet having been set up the name is also entered at the beginning of the genealogy for the sake of glory. On the contrary, the nearer ancestors who can be traced are left out. So the descent lines may still be traced in the genealogies, but only the first ancestor has no relationship to them. The reason is that this name was wrongfully fitted in."

The author states that investigation showed that the first ancestor in the ancestral hall and in the genealogy invariably went back beyond the Han dynasty to mythical times, some tracing their descent from P'an-ku, the First Man, or even from traitors and hated ministers in historical times, or from legendary figures that never were admitted into historic works.

He gives the following figures obtained by a survey made by the officials in the local administration. There were in 1764 89 ancestral halls erected by *tsu* joined on the basis of a common surname, 8994 ancestral halls of individual *tsu*; 170 ancestral halls each had a first ancestor whose existence or relationship to the *tsu* could not be ascertained, while 1016 genealogies recorded such first ancestors. Also there were 141 common residences for members of the *tsu* or *hsing*.

APPENDIX 62: MEMORIAL ADVISING THE STRENGTHENING OF THE *TSU* (1736)

As the guiding principle the author quotes Mencius: "When every one loves his near relatives and respects his elders, the world will be at peace." He continues: "It is true that every person has elders. Through his near relatives and his elders each person is related to a *tsu*. This is why the love and respect within one family may be extended to the whole world."

"At all times the change in morals and customs has been led by the prominent families and large *tsu*, and the putting into effect of moral precepts begins with the important people. Among the high officials in recent times there have been those who have been showing themselves virtuous with regard to their relatives, but there are also those who know only their own profit. There are even those who do not care that their wife and children are gorging themselves with meat, while their 'hands-and-feet' (i.e. brothers) do not have enough grain to subsist upon; that their servants ride in strong carriages or drive fat horses, while their own *tsu* are starving and suffering from cold. There are those who have risen from a lowly position who, having at one time suffered oppression and insults from their fellow-*tsu*-members, on achieving their goal, think of revenge, and accuse and calumniate, indict and rob them, worse than if they were their enemies. Their sons and younger brothers are influenced by them and quarrel about their inheritance, litigating against each other and regarding their own 'bone-and-flesh' as strangers. . . ."

He proposes that the government stimulate mutual aid among *tsu* members: "If there should be someone who gives his property to the ancestral hall of the *tsu* in order to assist the members of the *tsu*, the local officials should be commanded to list this land separately and free it from various kinds of labor service, at the same time reporting the

donation to the Board of Education and Religion for comment. Those gentry and commoner *tsu*, whose membership exceeds one thousand persons, are to be allowed to elect a careful and honest man as their head to instruct and lead the *tsu* members (in moral behavior). If, during three years, there is not one case among the *tsu* members of an offense against *li* or law, nor of a lawsuit taken to court, the local authorities are to encourage them by giving them a *pien* (board with laudatory inscription). If there is no such offense or lawsuit during five years, the provincial governor is to give them a *pien* as an encouragement. If, during a year of famine, any member of the *tsu* is able to assist his fellow-*tsu*-members, and save them from scattering, the governor is to examine the extent of his merit and either give him a *pien* for encouragement, or petition the government to give him an added rank. If someone has inherited a rank with salary, yet makes use of his power and money to oppress and show contempt for his *tsu*, the governor is to report these facts. If the offense is light the individual is to be punished. If it is serious his rank is to be taken away. Should a person be registered at some school, at the annual examination the *tsu* members are to be allowed to report the truth of his behavior to the educational official. . . . If the person is commended by his *tsu*, though his work be poor he is yet to be spared the next examination (i.e. he is to be allowed to pass); if he is blamed by his *tsu*, though his work be of superior quality, he is not to be listed at the top of the list of successful students. . . ."

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The Chinese equivalents of the names and titles which appear in the bibliographical references will be found on pp. 192-193. The numbers correspond to the numbers of the footnotes which follow, pp. 194-203.

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² Li Ching-han, *A Survey of the Social Conditions in Ting Hsien* (1933), p. 170.

³ M. C. Yang, *A Chinese Village* (New York, 1945), pp. 137-138.

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¹⁵ Ch'ien Wên-hsüan, Shih-ch'ing Ch'üan-chi, pt. 1 (Shanghai, 1939), p. 169.

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INTER-TSU RELATIONS

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¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ch. 3, pp. 22a-b.

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¹² Ch'ên Ta, Nan-yang Hua-ch'iao yü Min-yüeh Shê-hui (Changsha, 1938), pp. 133-135.

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CONCLUSION

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² Pierre B. Maybon, *Essai sur les associations en Chine* (Paris, 1925), p. 6.

³ Cf. Ferd. Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, 6 and 7. (Berlin, 1926), pp. 3-5. The two words are here used to define objectively two types of relationship without implying value-judgments.

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⁵ According to reports in the local Chinese newspapers, during the recent elections in Kwangtung for delegates to the National Assembly and Legislative Yuan in Nanking, candidates from the large *tsu* were assured the full support of all their *tsu* relatives.

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- App. 8. *Ibid.*, ch. 1, p. 2a.
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- App. 15. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, *Regulations Concerning the Affairs of the Ancestral Hall*, p. 1a.
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- App. 18. Lu Shih-i, Shan-mu Chü-shih Wên-chi, ch. 2, pp. 1a-4b.
- App. 19. Personal information.
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- App. 25. Lu-chiang-chün Ho Shih Ta-t'ung Tsung-p'u, ch. 13, *Regulations of the Ancestral Hall*, p. 1b.
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- App. 27. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, ch. 1, *Regulations of the Ancestral Hall*, p. 1b.
- App. 28. Hsü Shih Tsung-p'u, vol. 1, ch. 1, p. 7a-b.
- App. 29. P'i-ling Ch'êng Shih Tsung-p'u, ch. 1, pp. 88b-89a.

- App. 30. I Shih Tsu-p'u (1873), vol. 1, ch. 1, pp. 33b-34b.
- App. 31. T'an Shih Hsü-hsiu Tsu-p'u, vol. 1, *Regulations of the Tsu*, pp. 3a-b.
- App. 32. Huang Shih Ch'ung-hsiu Tsu-p'u, vol. 1, ch. 1, *Rules of the Compilation of the Genealogy*, pp. 3a-4b.
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- App. 37. Chi-yang Chang-ch'ing Chao Shih Tsung-p'u, vol. 23, ch. 20, pp. 12a-21a; 74a.
- App. 38. Wang Chih, Ch'ung-ya-t'ang Kao (1759), ch. 3, pp. 21a-23a.
- App. 39. Hsüan-chuang Chou Shih Tsu-p'u, vol. 1, ch. 1, *Rules of the Tsu*, pp. 8a-11b.
- App. 40. Fan Shih Chia-p'u, vol. 1, *Warnings and Injunctions*.
- App. 41. An-yang Yang Shih Tsu-p'u, vol. 15, ch. 22, pp. 10a-11a; 15a-b; 18a-b.
- App. 42. *Ibid.*, vol. 15, ch. 22, pp. 12a-14a.
- App. 43. T'ai-yüan Wang Shih Chia-ch'eng, vol. 7, ch. 7, *Regulations of the Ch'ing-yüan I-chuang of the Ch'ing-hui Branch of the Tsu of Wang*, pp. 2a-b; 4a.
- App. 44. *Ibid.*, pp. 2b-4a.
- App. 45. Hsieh-yeh Wu Shih Tsung-p'u, vol. 3, ch. 3, *New Discussions*, pp. 3a-12b.
- App. 46. Yü Yüeh, Ch'un-tsai-t'ang Tsa-wên, 3rd Series, ch. 1, pp. 6a-7b.
- App. 47. Fang Pao, Wang-hsi Hsien-shêng Wên-chi (1881, rev. ed.), ch. 14, p. 11a.
- App. 48. Chi-yang Chang-ch'ing Chao Shih Tsung-p'u, vol. 22, ch. 19, *Rules of the Family*, pp. 6a-b.
- App. 49. Ching-k'ou Li Shih Tsung-p'u, *Account of the Old and New Land, Buildings and Ritual Articles at the Shan men Ancestral Hall*, pp. 1a-2a.
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- App. 52. Yü Yüeh, Ch'un-tsai-t'ang Tsa-wên, 6th Series, ch. 1, pp. 26a-27b.
- App. 53. Through the kindness of Dr. Hu Shih.
- App. 54. Yü Yüeh, 5th Series, ch. 1, pp. 8b-10a.
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- App. 60. Huang-ch'ing Ming-ch'ên Tsou-i (Publ. by Bureau of National History), ch. 56, pp. 13b-14b.
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GLOSSARY OF CHINESE TERMS

Cash—coin with a square hole, the smallest denomination under the Empire.

Catty—the Chinese pound, equal to 0.5968 kg.

Chia—family or home.

Chi-t'ien—ritual land.

Fang—the conjugal families within a family, or the branches of a *tsu*.

Fu—a district larger than a *hsien*.

Hsien—a county, the smallest administrative unit.

Hsing—surname, extended to mean all the individuals by the same surname.

I—duty in accordance with personal relations.

I-chuang—common land placed under the management of a hired administrator, with separate building for storage.

I-chung—land contributed by an individual to serve as grave-land for the community.

I-t'ien—common land placed under the management of hired administrator, smaller than *i-chuang*, and without a separate building to serve as office and for storage.

I-ts'ang—public granary established and run by private person.

Li—a Chinese mile, equal to 0.576 km.

Li—ritual, convention, etiquette.

Li-chiao—ethical teachings concerning the relationships within the family.

Mon—6.144 are.

Shên-shih—men of high social standing in a community.

Shêng—1.0355 liter.

Tan—a bushel, or 103.55 liter.

T'ang—hall, see explanation p. 132.

Ton—peck, or 10.355 liter.

Tsu—the common descent group.

